

THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF WOMAN

MARY GRACE JENSEN

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
LIBRARY

U
CLASS 373.242 BOOK J54c

THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF WOMAN

A Thesis

by

Mary Grace Jensen

presented to the faculty of the University
of Utah, in partial fulfillment of the re-
quirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

May, 1920

Approved by

L. E. Emory

Five hour credit,

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	page
Introduction-----	1
Women of prehistoric times-----	2
Amazons-----	4
Ladies of Assyria-----	5
Egyptian ladies-----	8
Ladies of classic Athens-----	10
Ladies of Sparta-----	13
Ladies under Roman law-----	15
Women under Pauline Christianity-----	26
The lady of the Middle Ages-----	32
The Lady of the Renaissance-----	34
Queens:the link between the old and the new regimes	38
Modern feministic movement-----	45
Latin countries-----	"
France-----	45
Belgium-----	55
Spain and Portugal-----	56
South America-----	57
Italy-----	58
Slavic countries-----	60
Russia-----	60
Poland-----	61
Czecho-Slovakia-----	62
* Hungary-----	63
Balkan nations-----	63

	page
The Teutonic nations-----	64
Scandinavia-----	64
Finland-----	65
Norway-----	66
Sweden-----	68
Iceland-----	69
Denmark-----	70
Germany-----	72
Austria-----	74
Holland-----	75
Switzerland-----	76
Great Britain-----	76
England-----	76
New Zealand-----	86
Australia-----	87
Canada-----	88
South Africa-----	89
The United States-----	90
Feminism in the Orient-----	109
The international status of women-----	110
Conclusions-----	112

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Books.

- Abbott: Society and Politics in Ancient Rome, Scribners
 Allen, William H.: Woman's Part in Government, Dodd, Mead & Co.
 Anthony: Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia, Henry Holt & Co.
 Beecher, Henry Ward: Woman's Influence in Politics, R. F. Wallcut, Boston
 Botsford: The Roman Assemblies
 Bres, Rose: Wives, Maids, and Widows, S. P. Dutton & Co.
 Bryce: The American Commonwealth Vol. II, chapt. XCIII
 Brentarios, Boulting: Woman in Italy
 Cady, Anthony, Gage, Harper, etc.: The History of Woman Suffrage 4 vols
 Catt, C. C.: Woman's Century Calendar, National W. S. Pub. Co.
 Clayton, Ellen C.: Female Warriors 2 vols. Tinsley Brod., London
 Eckenstein: Woman under Monasticism
 Fuller, Margaret: Woman in the Nineteenth Century, Robert's Bros.
 Gamble, Eliza: Women in History and Science
 Hecker, Eugene: A Brief History of Women's Rights, Putnam's
 Lecky: History of European Morals
 Lord, Arthur: Regency of Marie de Medici, Henry Holt & Co.
 Keller: Homeric Society, Longman's, N. Y.
 MacCabe, Joseph: Woman in Political Evolution, Watts & Co. London
 Mason, Amelia: Women in the Golden Ages, Century Co.
 Maulde, R. de: The Women of the Renaissance, Putnam's
 Mc Bride, Wilma: Toward a Sane Feminism
 Mill, John Stuart: The Subjectin of Women, Longman's, Green & Co.
 Montesquieu: The Spirit of the Laws
 Moody, W. K.: Nine Years' Experience of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming
 Ostrogorski, M.: The Rights of Women
 Pankhurst, Christabel: The Legal Disabilities of Women
 Pankhurst, Sylvia: The Suffragette, Sturgis, Walto Co., N. Y.
 Putnam, Emily James: The Lady, Sturgis Walton Co.
 Rawlinson: Ancient Egypt, Putnam's
 Rembaugh, Bertha: The Political Status of Women in the United States
 Sayce, A. H.: Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians
 Schirmacher, Dr. Kaethe: The Modern Women's Rights Movement, Macmillan
 Sechel, Edith: Women and Men of the French Renaissance
 Seymour & Frary: How the World Votes (1919) 2 vols.
 Sharp, Evelyn: Rebel Women, John Lane & Co.
 Smith, Sidney: Outline of the Woman's Franchise Movement in New Zealand, Whitcomb Tombs Co.
 Stanton, Theodore: The Woman Question in Europe
 Sumner, Helen: Equal Suffrage (in Colorado) Harper's
 Tuttle: The Awakening of Woman, Abbingtion Press
 Weigal, Arthur: The Life and Times of Cleopatra, Putnam's
 Wollonstonecraft, Mary: A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792)
 Woman Suffrage: Debater's Handbook Series

Pamphlets.

Blackwell, Alice Stone: Objections Answered (1916) N.W.S. Pub. Co.
Constitutional Amendment Campaign, 1894, N.W.S. Pub. Co.
Creel, George: What Have Women Done With the Vote? N.W.S. Pub. Co.
Harper, Ida H.: How Six States Won Suffrage, N.W.S. Pub. Co.
Harper, Ida H.: Woman Suffrage Throughout the World (1906)
North American Review
Harper, Ida : A Brief History of Woman Suffrage in the
United States (1919) N.W.S. Pub. Co.
McCulloch, Catherine: Guardianship of Children, N.W.S. Pub. Co.
Wilson, Justina Leavitt: Suffrage Argument (Material for Debate)
Woman's Rights Almanac for 1858, Z. Baker & Co, Worcester, Mass.

Information Service, Press dept of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association.

Periodicals.

Austen, M.: Sex Emancipation Thru War, Forum 59: 609-20
Blakadee, G.H.: Woman Suffrage in Finland, Outlook 87: 35-39
Butley, Amy: The Political Evolution of Women, Westminster R. 134: 1-8
Castberg, J.: The Legal Position of woman in Norway,
Nineteenth Century vol. 71: 364-377
Cobbe, Frances: Woman Suffrage, Contemp. Review 83: 653-660
Claflin, Adelaide: Women in Politics, The Nation Vol. 39, Sept 18
Coop, Courtney: Enter the Mayoress, Collier's 47, July 29
Cooper E.: Emancipation of Women in Burma, Asia 19: 771-774
Crane, Hattie: Woman's Place in the Government and Conduct
of Society, Overland Monthly 59: 359-366
Creel, George and Judge Lindsey: Measuring up Equal Suffrage,
Delinicator 77: 85-86, 151-152
Deering, Mabel: The Women's Demonstration, Colliers 48: 17
Dorr, Rheta Childe: The Women Did it in Colorado,
Hampton's Magazine 26: 426-38
Elmy, Elizabeth: Woman and the Law, Westminster R. 163: 394-397
Fawcett, M.G.: Women in English Politics, Forum 14: 453-464
Gilman, Charlotte: The Woman's Congress of 1899, Arena 22: 342-350
Greene, Mary G.: Results of the Woman Suffrage Movement
Forum 47: 413-424
Harper, Ida H.: The Present Status of Woman Suffrage
The World Today 2: 1264
Harper, Ida H.: Asquith's Betrayal of the Suffragists
Collier's 48: Dec. 19 & 23
Harper, Ida H.: The English Woman Suffrage Bill, Independent 69: 410
Harper, Ida H.: Woman's Suffrage Congress, Independent 65: 192-5
Hanna, Lareen: Norway's Leader of Women, Harper's Weekly vol 53
Hoeder, Lady: Woman Suffrage in Australia, Independent 56: 1309
Ignota: The Grand Old Woman of Today, Westminster Rev. 161: 321-6

Ignota: The Part of Women in Local Administration,
 Westminster Review 150: 32-36, 248-260
 Ignota: Woman's Lost Citizenship, Westminster R. 159: 512-522
 Knobe, Bertha: The Co-Citizens of California, Colliers 48: Oct, 20
 Korff, Alletta: Where Women Vote: National Geog. Mag. 21: 487-494
 Lee, Edward: The Woman Movement in Wyoming, Galaxy 13: 755-760
 Lenin N.: Women in Soviet Russia, Nation 160: 185-6
 Lusk, Hugh: The Woman's Vote, North Am. Review 192: 107-116
 Mahood, H.E.: Stumbling Block in English Politics, Forum 47: 451-61
 Melegari, Dora: The Woman Question in Italy, Contemp. Rev. 76: 319-36
 Münsterberg, Hugo: The German Woman, Atlantic Monthly 109: 452-67
 McIlquham, Harriet: Some Advocates of Justice for Women in
 the Eighteenth Century, Westminster R. 159: 167-79
 McIlquham, Harriet: Woman Suffrage in the Early Nineteenth
 Century, Westminster Review 160: 539-551
 Oakley, T.: Women of France, Century 79: 235
 Pankhurst, R.M.: The Right of Women to Vote, Westminster R. 160: 321
 Parrett, Edward: Women in English Politics, New Eng. Mag. 11: 222-28
 Pärsinnen, Hilja: Women's Work in the Finnish Parliament
 International W.S. News 5: 22-26
 Roosevelt, Theodore: Women's Rights, Outlook 100: 262-266
 Runyon, Alfred: The Woman Boss of Denver, Harper's Weekly 52: 8-28
 Stephens, W.: Woman Suffrage in France, Living Age 301: 555-356
 Stöcker, Helen: The Woman's Movement in Germany, Independent
 62: 1192-96
 Sugemoto, H.I.: Freedom of Japanese Women, Ladies' Home Journal 37: 4
 Tolstoy, Ilya: The Salvation of Russia is in its Women
 Pictorial Review Vol 22 No. 6, 46

Suffrage magazines

The English Woman
 The Woman Citizen (American)
 The International Woman Suffrage News

THE EVOLUTION OF WOMAN'S LEGAL STATUS

The vast scientific achievements and the stupendous industrial growth for which the nineteenth century deserves distinction are insignificant beside the intellectual awakening of half the human race which the same century produced and fostered. As a result of that feminine renaissance, nations are now receiving the largest, the most intelligent, the most enthusiastic class of voters which has ever been admitted under one enfranchisement. And yet in the manner which history proves but too usual women are figuratively and literally patting each other's backs in the exuberance of egotism that forgets all precedent in the gladsome, "I--and my generation, we did it!" Naturally the leaders of the modern women's political movement are cognizant of the fact that the legal struggle is age-long and that there were primitive societies in which woman's status, in comparison with that of her fellow humans, was higher than at present; but the laity feel that in achieving woman suffrage, with its subsequent political freedom, "something new under the sun" has at last been unearthed.

Indeed such a belief has some solid foundation as an investigation of any statute books will prove. Just

as modern civilization and democratic government have outstripped the analogous civilizations and governments of ancient times, so, in the familiar figure of the spiral, the nineteenth century feministic movement while paralleling its predecessors has also surpassed them. But the fact remains that there were predecessors-- notably under the late Roman Republic and the early Empire, and more widely in Europe during the Renaissance.

An investigation of laws concerning woman reveals the further consideration that if her status has been better at certain periods it has also been worse, incomparably worse. Only by a brief review of the legal status of woman thru the successive ages can one become acquainted with the hideous injustice, the grotesquely merciful privileges, the real power, the more real weakness that has been woman's portion under the several civilizations of the world.

WOMAN'S IMPORTANCE IN PREHISTORIC TIMES

When the historic curtain rises man occupies the center of the governmental stage from which no power has ever proved sufficient to eject him--tho he may at times have realized that the scene shifter, in the person of woman, has controlled the performance more often than his egotism could desire. But there are elements present at this beginning of historical drama

which show that man has but lately achieved his preeminence.

Chief among such elements is tradition crystallized into mythology. No ancient state existed without its female deities of war and wisdom. Remembering that all people of all ages create their own gods, may it not be considered that the revered existence of Minerva and Bellona in early Roman minds, of Neith in the prayers of the Egyptians, and of the sacrifices to Andaste the Briton goddess of victory, show that women of prehistoric times held a relative position in society very similar to that which their sisters of the twenty-second century will assume. The matriarchal theory of social origin rightly has no place in a paper of this nature, but the status of Germanic women as reviewed by Tacitus shows the prevalence at that late date of the "divine mother of all" idea. Whether Demeter and Ceres are embodiments of similar social ideals among the Greeks and the Romans is mere theory; but the prophetess of the Teutons, the eternal divine element in woman is no more of a contrast with the modern German tutelage of the more humane half of his race than is the honor accorded the women of the Homeric period directly opposed to the seclusion and repression of female life during the golden age of

Athens. Most of the Grecian tribes as well as Europe, Asia, and Lybia (Africa) were named for women. Much more such traditional evidence might be evoked to prove that there had been a shifting in the relative positions before the dawn of history.

One organized group of women in that ancient mythological period of human equality must be mentioned in any consideration of female political life--the Amazons. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Justin are among the historians who believe in the existence of their kingdom. The last named author relates the tale of two Scythian princes and their followers wandering into Cappodocia where, the men having been killed by the natives, the women set up a well organized political community, which for centuries carried on war against neighboring kingdoms. Pliny credits one of the queens, Penthesilia, with the very humane feat of inventing the battle axe. Many of these Amazon rulers were well known thruout Assyria, Greece, and Phoenicia and were so troublesome that mighty Hercules was sent to subdue them by obtaining the queen's belt--by deceit. Those were marvellous days when men intrigued and women fought! No woman who desires the supremacy of her sex, but despairs of its achievement, can resist believing in the Amazons.

Africa was also supposed to contain a society governed on gynecocratic lines. These darker heroines were even wiser than their Asiatic peers, however; for instead of banishing or murdering male children they set them and their fathers the amiable tasks, which by custom rather than logic are termed feminine-- cooking, cleaning the abode, etc. One wonders if these north African warriors were not the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Dahomey where 12000 women are ready at an hour's notice for active military service because in that territory women are the superiors of men in strength as well as in endurance.

THE LADIES OF ASSYRIA AND EGYPT

Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt have written record of that period of comparative female freedom which corresponds to the age typified by myth in Greek, Roman, and Central European states. Queens ruled gloriously if not justly, in Assyria and Egypt, assuming enough of the cruelty and heartless despotism of the times to make their reigns famous. Not until the sixteenth century of our era is so much political fame attached to women's names as was the portion of some of these ancient sovereigns.

Semiramis is one of the most eminent names of

antiquity. From one point of view her achievements are individual and have no connection with the general status of women; for queens from her time till 1920 have, perhaps necessarily, been given more to catering to the wants of men than those of their fellow women. On the other hand, the mere existence of a powerful queen is a proof of the lenient attitude of her country toward her sex, and also a direct refutation of woman's mental weakness and incapacity for administrative affairs. Historians differ 1535 years on the time in which Semiramis ruled--it was probably about 1000 B. C. Having become queen of Assyria by the not unusual method among ancient royalty of casting her rival into prison and finally murdering him, she proceeded to achieve fame thruout the East. She conquered part of Ethiopia, and traditionally, shares glories with Alexander in daring to invade India. Altho her internal improvements, like those of Louis XIV of France so many centuries later, had a tendency to be brave in vanity and poor in substantial merit, it must be admitted that the embellishing of a city until it was called Golden Babylon was no small achievement.

Many other queens in western Asia became famous thruout the known world. Hypsicrates, wife of

Mithridates, was given a masculine form of name because of military prowess. Xerxes once viewed a battle in which Artemnesia, queen of Caria, put his men to flight with such ease that he exclaimed in disgust: "The women fight like men; the men like women!" Zenobia, in the third century after Christ, ruled not only her native Africa but was empress of the East for five years. This fair ruler was as well educated and as thoroly a cultured scholar as was she a brave soldier and skilled military strategist. Palmyra, her Capital, blossomed into such splendor during her reign that it almost rivalled Rome. Zenobia's fame among early queens is second only to that of Semiramis.

Unless one holds a Carlylian philosophy of history, however, queens are mere interesting meteors that flash past without affecting women in general. Translations from the clay tablets of Babylon give us the only real insight into the civil life of Assyrian and Babylonian ladies--the mere women had no civil life, being slaves either by law or custom. Such translations show that the ladies were not secluded; that they appeared freely in courts both as defendants and plaintiffs; that they owned property; and that another of our new ideas is rather ancient for even then the wife signed (with her thumb nail) with her husband when a home was sold. If

the husband was absent, the wife conducted all business, even to entering a lawsuit, in her own name: Young people of both sexes were sadly bought and sold into matrimony but it was the mother who did the bargaining. She chose and purchased the mate for her son. In general, woman's legal freedom was almost equal to that of man. As may be expected, goddesses prevailed over gods in such a state and it was only the entrance of Semitic influence--the biggest factor against woman's rights in the history of the world--that the gender of the deities gradually changed until, in the decadence of the empire, only Istar, goddess of the evening star, remained to tell the story of fallen status that Pallas told in Greece and Minerva in Rome.

Legend says that at one time all Egyptian men vowed obedience to their wives--a most idiotic practice rivalled only by the now decadent atrocity of women's promising to obey men. It is undoubtedly true, however, that this statement is a mere figurative expression of the actual fact that ancient Egyptian women were powerful politically and civilly. Queens were allowed in this country also, after Snefeau had eliminated sex from the qualifications of succession. Nitocris, of the sixth dynasty of Manetho ruled as first sole queen. Hatasu, at a much later date, in her obsession of manliness wore

an artificial beard and desired to be termed "His majesty". Such forms as "His majesty herself doth command it" appear in her documents. She assembled one of the greatest merchant fleets Egypt has ever known; renovated temples; and superintended the building of two wonderful obelisks of red granite. She was the greatest of all Egypt's queens tho not so famous as the wicked and beautiful Cleopatra of a far later date.

Nothing shows more plainly the evolution of Egyptian tho than the manner and the attire of the two rulers. Hatasu believed in direct, personal authority, which in her age meant that she must be strong and virile. But during the centuries elapsing before the reign of Cleopatra woman had become the ornament, toy, and doll, against which inane condition the nineteenth century feministic movement was launched. Cleopatra, consequently, could exert only influence instead of candid authority; this meant coquetry, intrigue, and deceit in grave affairs of state. Egypt had lost the ideals of the time of Hatasu in which woman admired man and crudely imitated him and had descended to that depth in which woman, being an intellectual being and hence desiring power, was forced to rule covertly and with subtle malice. Hatasu and Cleopatra typify the rough, freakish but candid and

straight-forward western United States suffragist and the polished leader of a Parisian salon--there is much difference of opinion as to which represents the higher type of civilization.

LADIES OF CLASSIC GREECE

"If god made woman
And fashioned her, he was for men the artist
Of woes unnumbered, and their deadliest foe",

sang Euripedes

in his innate kindness of soul, delighting the entire male population of Athens in their equal gentility of heart. But the women were not offended for they knew nothing of it. In their born capacity of head slave they were managing their masters' households, showing their utter thralldom by not even sighing for the good old Homeric days when Nausikaa's mother was a judge among the people. Rather were they trying to live up to the goodly standard, voiced by Pericles, in proclaiming that the best and most honored woman was she of which nothing was heard for either good or evil. Legally the beautiful Athenian matron was perpetually a minor under the tutelage of father or husband. She had not even an indirect influence in governmental affairs inasmuch as she never met her husband's friends or even presided at a social dinner. Woman to the masterful freedom-loving Athenian was a mere heir-producing mechanism that

fortunately could also manage a household.

It is said that at present man considers women collectively as devils and individually as angels; the Athenians reversed the process. Each man's wife was a necessary evil at best but women of the imagination were creatures of strength and beauty. In art and in the drama woman became a cult to the extent that many readers of Greek literature envy the lot of the sex in a country in which the writers could produce such ideal types as Iphegenia and Alcestis. Such creations were, however, a harking back to the days of feminine prestige and were totally unconnected with the esteem, or lack of it, in which the women of the poets' own time were held.

No Athenian woman could have public influence and retain her respectability. Her political power came solely thru mothering great men. And altho it is true that most famous men from the Gracchi and Julius Caesar to George Washington and Daniel Webster have had exceptional mothers, it is decidedly farfetched to give Athenian women political prestige on this score. If their sons were great they were also far more eminently ungrateful.

Solon, the famous law-giver, voiced the Athenian attitude, "Anything done under the influence of woman is illegal." He sympathized with bachelors to the extent that when asked to penalize them he sadly shook his head

saying, "A wife is a heavy load to carry". If a man had burdened himself thus heavily he had only to return his wife's dowry and she stood divorced--dishonored. Woman's legal status never sunk lower under civilized government than it did in democratic Athens. Here is the first point in the long list of arguments that have been adduced to show that monarchy is more nearly just to women than is democracy. What more need be said of feminine legal life in Athens than that it was solemnly awarded her on the statute books that after the age of sixty a woman might attend funerals outside of the family--if she did not grieve too loudly.

There were women in Athens, however, who had political power, tho no rights: these were the hetaerae or foreign companions--women educated in music, rhetoric, and dancing, who became the illegal mates of the men of Athens, women who had no reputations to lose and hence appeared freely at banquets where public affairs were discussed. The important part which the courtesan has played in world politics, especially in Greece and in the Latin European countries, scarcely redounds to the credit of men. Lamia, an Athenian flute player, raised money from the state in her own name and was deified and given a temple while the respectable women of the city, educated only in manual arts, slaved out their dull lives

in seclusion of the strictest kind.

Aspasia was the leader of the group of foreign women in Athens and in her name is summed up the political influence of her sex in the Great state. The confidant of Pericles, the friend of Socrates, the counsellor of the wisest men, she stands next to the poet Sappho among the women of classic Greece. Plutarch remarks of her relation to the ruler of the city: "Some indeed say that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities." So skilled was she in the art of public speech that her advice in things political was followed unconsciously; except indeed her fervid pleas for more proper relations of the sexes which seemingly obtained no hearing. It may be that her prominence is due to the fact that she stood almost alone in her age; more probably, she was one of the few female political geniuses who have found opportunity for expression.

The women of Sparta far outstripped their Athenian sisters in patriotism and power. When a woman of another country said to Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, "You of Lacadaemon are the only women in the world that rule men", she replied, "We are the only women that bring forth men." And she was correct to the extent that the Spartans were the only men big enough to see the truth of what Aristotle later said, "In those states in which

the condition of women is bad, half of the city may be regarded as having no laws." The Spartans practiced eugenics to an extent never seen since, and in so doing realized the necessity of women mentally and physically strong to mother the race. Or more probably, the women themselves realized it for Sparta bears the earmarks of a society in which women have but recently lost control. The crude simplicity of society, the approximate physical equality of the sexes, the extraordinarily high morals, according to their standard, are but a few of hints of a recently vanished gynocracy.

Because children of both sexes were taken from their homes at an early age to be educated by the state, the mothers had much freedom for study and rapidly became the learned class. Couple executive talent and discriminating judgment, which were the Spartan inheritance, with this mental training and it will be easy to see why the women of that state were not in Athenian subjection. Plutarch laments: "The Spartans listened to their wives and women were permitted to meddle more in public affairs than men with the domestic."

Even in this state, however, women were legally under the subjection of men. But inheritance rights were equal and women came to own two fifths of the land, thus becoming a real power which forbade radical

legislation against them. In general, the ladies of Sparta were as free legally, in comparison with the men, as were the English women prior to 1918. The Spartans were the perpetual butt of the very best petticoat-rule jokes of Athens.

LADIES UNDER ROMAN LAW

The heroines of prehistoric, regal Rome give ample hint of the type of political leader to be developed late in the republic and in the height of the empire--imperious, masterful, intriguing, bold, on the whole, a masculine type. Tarquinia, who courageously and unmercifully planned and succeeded in making her husband king, and Tanaquil, master of resource and strategy, who saved the realm for her foster son are far more true to Roman character than Hersilia, wife of Romulus, who saved a conquered people from destruction. Roman men, almost alone among the peoples of history, admired feminine courage most when it was most nearly masculine; hence as long as the primitive women showed their worth by strategy and prowess their legal status was fairly secure.

But as in Greece the early institution of a religious cult which taught that the father was the creator of the child's soul meant the ^{legal}~~gradual~~ as well as social subjection of women. At the beginning of the republic

her sex was already laboring beneath the stigma of perpetual tutelage which this religion had aided in fastening upon her, and had she not been formed of sterner stuff than her Grecian sisters her self-respect would have withered beneath the burden. The Roman lady bowed only reluctantly and intermittently beneath masculine oppression and was never entirely separated from the life of her state because she at least maintained the right to sit as an intelligent, tho silent, listener at the political discussions in her husband's home.

And when the intelligent and fascinating foreign courtesan began to usurp the Roman man's attention, his wife did not yield supinely to fate, but with the leisure accruing from the introduction of slaves into her household she set to work educating herself and her daughters in dancing, music, and rhetoric. Thus the two great women's movements in history--in Rome during the centuries surrounding the birth of the Christian era, and in America and western Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries--have had their bases in the firmest of all foundations, education.

Stoic philosophy, becoming prominent about the time of the subjugation of Greece, put its weight on the side of legal justice to women. Roman lawyers began to emancipate them from the soul-deadening patriarchal

system in which the wife had really become her husband's daughter in the eyes of the law. The freedom of women increased constantly in strength and variety until in the age of the Antonine Caesars sex equality in civil matters was all but attained. Sir Henry Maine observes on the subject: "Led by their theory of natural law, the juriconsults had at this time assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of their code of equity."

(Ancient Law p. 149).

Since the time of the Gracchi women were allowed to speak publicly in Rome. But at a still earlier date the first concerted attack on local legislation was staged in that city with women orators quite equal to the twentieth century suffragettes and a male audience very modern in its resentment of the "fuss" made by those who should have been overseeing household tasks. And the participators were probably shown some beautiful prototype of Cornelia who influenced politics in the proper place and manner, just as the stolid Englishman pointed a decade ago to the influencing French salonierre as a lesson to his frank countrywomen. This first public political outbreak of Roman women came as a result of the Oppian Law passed 195 B. C. which forbade women to wear purple cloth or weighty gold ornaments and decreed that they should be denied the use of

carriages. The victims of the law gave lavishly of their luxuries nor murmured at the injustice of the measure until the crisis of the war was past. Then, in a body, they approached the Forum demanding the repeal of the obnoxious law. The men became annoyed, then angry. Cato stormed at the petitioners in a speech that might have been heard in the United States senate in 1918: "We are overpowered at home by female contumacy and when here in the forum are trodden under foot. Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should transact any, even private business without a director. We, it seems suffer them now to interfere in the management of state affairs. What will they attempt to do when they win this victory? The moment they have arrived at equality with you they will become your superiors." Surely the last statement is a dubious concession for an advocate of male supremacy to make. On that occasion the women blockaded the doors until the tribunes decided for repeal. This is the first historical victory of a group of women associated for the sole purpose of obtaining political rights. Far more noteworthy than the repeal in itself, however, was the fact that within the following year many laws were revised with the view of justice to women in the minds of the legislators.

A century later an even more famous revolt on the part of the subjugated Roman matrons brot the first distinct pronouncement of the taxation-without-representation argument that I have discovered. The triumvirs at this date levied an exorbitant tax on the rich ladies of the city. Hortensia, daughter of Cicero's rival, led her neighbors to the Forum. "Why should we pay taxes," she asked, "when we have no part in the honors, the commands, the statecraft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results?" These courageous accusers were treated with the courtesy common among politicians but citizens interfered so that none were seriously injured. And only a few of the wealthiest were taxed.

From that date until the initiation of Pauline Christianity woman's freedom grew somewhat steadily. "The political influence wielded by woman during the first three centuries after Christ was as great as it has ever been in the world's history," says Eugene Hecker in his scholarly resumé of laws concerning women. Such influence was almost entirely in the hands of certain female relatives of the rulers who will receive attention after a brief discussion of

the civil status of the sex under the most liberal Roman law.

In the limited sphere which has been assigned woman from the rise of the patriarchal system marriage laws have played a large part in determining her status. What then were these laws in late republican and early imperial Rome? "A marriage cannot exist unless all parties consent," states Paulus. "But a daughter is allowed to object only in case her father chooses for her a man of unworthy or disgraceful character," adds Ulpian. Sons were also subject to having mates chosen for them, however. A woman was under the dominion of her father even after her marriage until she had borne three children when she became sui juris. The wife had such complete control of her dowry that henpecked husbands are frequent in Plautan and Terrentian comedy. Gifts of real estate between man and wife were forbidden as a guard against the husband's wheedling his mate out of her property. A woman could not be taken into court for stealing from her spouse. But at the death of this husband she was compelled by law to mourn for ten months or lose her civil status.

Divorce in earlier times was the prerogative of men but in the period preceding Constantine it became unusual for a woman of the Upper Four Hundred to find no legal excuse to rid herself of a mate or two during

her lifetime. A unavira (wife of one husband) became a rarity. Again one is tempted to draw an analogy with the present time when women--and divorce--are once more comparatively free. The United States might profitably read this law of Augustus: "Remarriage after divorce is forbidden for a period of eighteen months."

In the laws on guardianship Roman women suffered with their sisters of all ages. Practically, in earlier days, and theoretically, under the Caesars, women were under the protection of their male relatives "on account of their unsteadiness of character," says Gaius and "their ignorance of legal matters", according to Ulpian. Political marriages transacted by these guardians was too often the lot of patrician ladies, Julius Caesar sacrificing his beloved daughter in this manner. No Roman woman ever became guardian of her own children tho by formal emancipation or thru the right to choose her own protector she became independent herself. Janis, among other jurists, admitted, "That women of mature age should be under guardianship seems to have no valid reason as foundation."

The right to possess and transfer property is one of the most fundamental in civilized society; married and single women alike were allowed this privilege in the Roman state. Wills of both sexes were equally unshackled

in the most enlightened years of the empire. Widows could control the property of their children. "You managed your patrimony in such wise," wrote Seneca to his mother, "that you exerted yourself as if it were yours and yet refrained from it as if it belonged to others." All women received some inheritance from their fathers altho the large estates descended in the male line.

Woman entered freely into business pursuits and sued and was sued in the law courts, but she was always supposed to hire lawyers for her defence. When Gaia Afrania appeared to plead before the supreme judge, Valerius Maximus let future generations know it was "not because there was any lack of lawyers but because she had more than enough of impudence."

The vestal virgins represent the legally privileged class among the Romans: they, alone of their sex, appeared as witnesses in public courts. They were the usual custodians of the emperor's will. Best of all, they were entirely without male tutelage and during good behavior were the most independent individuals in the empire.

Considering the civil restrictions on the men of Rome and the political theory of the time--the existence of the individual for the state--the foregoing brief summary of the law in its attitude toward women is remarkably liberal. Justinian, the great law codifier,

prided himself on the legal protection of women. It is consequently unfortunate that no portion of the Roman codes was so little adopted in western and central Europe as that dealing with the under half of humanity. Napoleon's code shows the retrogression which the next 1500 was to witness in woman's legal status.

Having in mind the civil position of the Roman matron, let us see what political power accompanied it. A campaign poster found on the walls of Pompeii is signed by two women, an act typical of the antics which led a censor to complain to the senate, "They govern our houses, the tribunals, the armies." Even militants were known in that day as one Calphurnia is cited for using so much violence in public address that for a few weeks free speech was denied her sex,-- not much of a loss among a class of people who found intrigue far more powerful than open methods.

Many of these women who were important in the realm of statecraft thru indirect and often extra-legal means appear on the pages of Roman history. Servilia, mother of Brutus, was a lifelong friend and advisor of Julius Caesar. When a man belittled women's public accomplishments to him he replied, "Semiramis ruled Assyria and the Amazons conquered Asia." He might

have added that Clodia, by exiling Cicero, was instrumental in the triumverate's assumption of supreme power. This Clodia, "the three-cent Clytemnestra" was certainly one of the wickedest and most influential politicians of her time. Fulvia, who rioted in the carnage following the return of the triumvirs in 43 B. C. was a prototype of the French revolutionary furies. She had 3000 troops under her control and had she not died at an opportune time would have gone down in history as the instigator of a great civil war.

Octavia, who strove so bravely to obtain troops for Antony and to achieve compromise between him and Octavianus, deserves the praise of a political sacrifice-- who, sadly enough, is the most unsung of all types of martyrs.

The best type of female administrative ability is shown in Livia, proclaimed "mother of her country" in her funeral. The whole senate paid court to her; her name was signed to decrees. Caligula, her grandson called her "Ulysses in petticoats." She deserves rank among the statesmen of the world. Plotina, wife of Trajan, was similar in temperament to the wise Livia and was deified at her death. Sosemis has a fame not unlike Jeanette Rankin's, not for ability, but for being the "first woman to attach her name to legislative documents."

Life for the Roman lady was restricted at best, her legal status far from ideal; yet in the light of historical evidence both civil and political statutes were more favorable to her free mental expansion and property independence than those of any other state prior to 1850. It is difficult to determine whether the laws made possible the mental strength and judicial and administrative ability of the Roman women or whether this psychological predilection made liberal laws a necessity. The age of Rome was a masculine age, an age of great cruelty, legal impartiality, and administrative achievement. The women who became prominent were those most manly in their virtues and most unscrupulous in the use of their talents; those who devoted themselves to the cause of men and the state--not even approaching the social questions with which suffragists of today anger and bore tired legislators. There was in the comparative freedom of Roman women no hint of that bugbear of little American minds--"feminine civilization." If some of those who tire of the incessant child labor laws, mothers' pensions and similar desires dear to the heart of our feminine legislators would recollect the manner in which a Julia or a Messalina used her power in things political, he might more nearly appreciate the twentieth century "new woman."

WOMAN UNDER THE HEEL OF PAULINE CHRISTIANITY

It is true that "Deborah, a prophetess--judged Israel" at one time but fewer people would be cognizant of the fact were it not such an extremely unusual occurrence in Semitic history. While it would be unjust to say the entire ecclesiastical history of the Hebrews teaches the degradation of women it is not unfair to say that civil and political equality of the sexes has never been farther from the minds of any people. As Semitic influence lowered the legal status of the Assyrian lady so the advent of Pauline Christianity into Western Europe meant a legal degradation, tho often a social rise, in the position of woman. Paul was just the type of the aggressive and narrow minded little man to use the tradition of his people in exalting men at the expense of women." "Neither was man created for the woman but the woman for the man,--the head of every woman is the man," preached the ardent dogmatist. And the world is still suffering from the fact that not pure Christianity but a gospel so adulterated that its Founder would scarcely have recognized it became the basis not only of the religious life of Europe but of much of the civil procedure as well.

In the Eastern division of the Roman Empire the first woman to receive imperial distinction was crowned

empress in A. D. 450 while in Rome the church fathers debated the probability of woman's possessing a soul and should she by any chance be taught the alphabet--and this in the face of the fact that Christianity, before mutilated by its expounders, had been responsible for having mothers appointed tutors of the emperors and the establishment of the right of mothers to succeed to children's property. After the second century of the Christian era the influence of the Church was ever opposed to legal rights for women.

The canon law, which during the middle ages assumed unto itself almost all matters pertaining to the civil life of the female sex was ever woman's worst enemy. These second-rate humans "are veiled during the marriage ceremony for this reason that they may know they are lowly and in subjection to their husbands," Gratian kindly explains. Divorce was supposedly forbidden by the canon law but thirteen grounds for legal separation are provided--for men. This law seems best understood by authors who use and comprehend such incomprehensible terms as "a subordinate equal." Was Cardinal Gibbons speaking with purposeful irony when he said, "If you are no longer regarded as the slave of your husbands-----you owe your emancipation to the church"?

As stated previously in this paper, the earliest records of Germanic people shows woman in a superior position. "The dowry was brought not by the wife to the husband but by the husband to the wife." According to Julius Caesar, if a Teuton died the surviving partner received the property. The public activity of the Teutonic women was proverbial, it being said that if an army defeated the Gothic men it faced the more difficult task of fighting the women behind them. The prevalence of priestly and prophetic powers among these women has already been noted: Valaeda by her soothsaying and incantations ruled the entire tribe of the Bructeri, says Tacitus. On the other hand, male guardianship, or protection was in vogue among the semi-savage Goths. And the idea of the chief function of the unprivileged sex with which the Germans are still disgusting the world shows itself in the early Salic law which fined a man 600 solidi for murdering a child bearing woman but only 200 for slaughtering one past forty-five. These few facts show the two opposed views current among the pagan Germans, the combination forms a picture rough and brutal but mellowed by an innate respect for the worth of woman that disappears with the rise of canon law. Male brutality was curbed by the Church, thus advancing woman socially, but her

inclination toward public life was also checked, and so effectively that she stands today in her stolid, long-enduring patience in the rearguard of civilized woman in making demand for legal rights.

In Lecky's History of European Morals appears this statement: "Whenever the canon law has been the basis of legislation we find laws of succession sacrificing the interests of daughters and wives." The common law of England is so influenced by the Church that it regards women not as persons but, in the words of man "She is my chattel, my goods, my household stuff." It is difficult to accept the theory propounded by Woodrow Wilson that in late feudal times the Italianized Roman law was adopted in matters of procedure and in criminal law but that laws concerning marriage and others most closely affecting women were built up on native custom; for evidence points so directly to the conclusion that the latter rules were taken almost bodily from the canons. During the middle ages the priest was the woman's magistrate and her lawgiver. The Henry VIII-Catharine affair of modern times is enough to establish the Church as the foundation head of the foul stream of domestic laws that deadened the initiative of women and poisoned the attitude of their kinsmen toward them. The result of the period of canon law may be summarized

thus: political influence of woman, none; legal status, honored slave.

The one fraction of a class of women who escaped the canon law did so by flinging themselves into the very bosom of the Church. The women of mediaeval times who enjoyed most legal rights, who exercised most political power were the heads of the convents. The abbess was a petty queen, she coined money, administered justice, held business consultations with the biggest men of the period, and received homage from her tenants. All those nicely discriminating tributes to women such as St. Gregory's, "Woman has the poison of an asp and the malice of a dragon" were for the uplift of the laity; for the abbess, "prudent reservations" were in order, as John Calvin later said in excepting queens from his encomiums on the sex.

The earliest convent, begun in the fourth century when Marcella, a wealthy Roman matron withdrew to escape the vices of her city, was a very primitive and insignificant institution compared with the great feudal domains held by the abbess of the middle ages. The political theory of the period made it usually impossible for daughters of barons to inherit land but the strongest of these feudal ladies soon found that the Gordian knot of dependency could be cut by voluntarily resigning themselves to a religious life. Bribes and political influence gave them command over their less fortunate

sister "brides of Christ". Thus grew up those famous convents of mediaeval times offering to their preceptors more freedom of development than any other European institution has ever presented. The abbess was protected by and formed a part of the two most powerful organizations of the period--the feudal system and the Church. The correspondence of St. Boniface shows that the abbesses were educated as well as any men; that they were economically independent; and that their interest in the politics of the day was sincere and well grounded. The primitive Teutonic idea of the worth of women made it possible for such abbeys as those of Ely, Whitby, and Thanet to thrive. Their rulers were the advisors of kings and the correspondents of the pope. Indeed the political power attained by the English abbess and weakened by the invading Normans was not reached by another woman before the day of queen Mary.

Hilda, the famous preceptress of Whitby, probably achieved most prominence because of her ruling over a monastery in which so many men and women were laboring. Five future bishops and the poet Caedmon were beneath her instruction. All political and religious problems in Northumbria were within her knowledge and usually subject to her approval. She received homage from many of the laity for whom she provided law courts and the general regulations of civil life. In fact, Hilda is a worthy example of the broadminded, aggressive woman who

escaped the cruel restrictions of canon law by settling herself so deftly into the depression left by the heel of the Church in its woman-crushing propensities that she was canonized for the effort.

On the continent the abbess was no less potent in political affairs. She received homage; summoned men to arms; was occasionally summoned to the Reichstag; and even struck her own coins. In church matters she was even known to make use of the all-powerful excommunication. Surely the convent may be correctly defined as the only haven of legal freedom to which those beset with canon law could flee.

THE LADY ACHIEVES HER HEIGHT

The canon law overlaps the period termed the Middle Ages and was indeed, supreme in many considerations of life up until the Reformation but other legal authority was also in effect, and customs distinct from the Church were shaping the ever-evolving legal and political position of woman. During the feudal age when men were honorably engaged in nothing but war, their wives were necessarily left in temporary control of estates, provinces and kingdoms. In this way regencies grew up, and many were the ladies who did their sex credit in those good wild days in leading forth hurriedly summoned armies to suppress revolts. Blanche of Castille whose French

regency ended in 1235 was so well equipped with military knowledge and ability that she became known as the "Great Captain" so that many succeeding queens of France adopted the name of Blanche as Romans did Augustus.

It was in this age that the castle raised its strong unfriendly head. And man having formed a new type of abode, the abode proceeded to form a new type of lady. The castle and its hall were inseparable; often even the beds of the lord and lady were divided from it only by curtains; privacy was never an essential part of castle life. Naturally, then, milady of the castle received her husband's guests; was present, tho silent, at banquets and with an ever-quick ear caught the details of political gossip. She became the hostess, the nurse, the doctor, and the advisor in the castle regime. Her rights were negligible, her influence mighty.

Greatest of all factors in this realm of influence was her position under the new chivalric code which made the lady of the castle the ideal of the young squire. She it was who set his tasks and rewarded his labors; and she it was also who during the absence of her husband spent much of her leisure in acquiring knowledge until in the Renaissance she rivalled the priest in scholastic

learning. From the rise of chivalry to the close of the revival of learning Europe was obsessed with the feministic viewpoint. Woman became a cult, a religion, an object of adoration--but not a human being, endowed with civil and political rights.

The Renaissance is the age of Madonnas; the masculine religion of Paul has been replaced by another which is equally foreign to real Christianity--the worship of the virgin. Plato has become more popular than the Mosaic code; literary courts of love more important than civil courts of justice. With all its grandeur of art and revived learning it was a gilded, perfumed, sickly, feministic age.

The Superiority of Women over Men is a common title for literature of the period. Monti, a Roman prelate, made this statement: "If men complain of seeing themselves equalled or surpassed by women so much the worse for them. It is because they are not worthy of their wives." One of these silly books proves conclusively that women are "nobler, braver, more tactful, more learned, more virtuous, and more economical than men. "Lucrezia Marinelli, in the conventional attitude wrote on, The Nobleness and Excellence of Women and the Faults and Imperfections of Men.

The cause of this sudden turning of the tables, resulting in the apparent elevation of the female sex,

as has been mentioned, was chivalry and the feminine tendency toward education developed by the too abundant leisure of castle life. Women, especially in Italy, became prodigies of learning. Cassandra Fidelis of Venice was so famed for knowledge that Ferdinand attempted to draw her to Naples but the doge of the city forbade her removal; Bitisia Gozzadina was a doctor of civil and canon law at Bologna in the thirteenth century; Vittoria Colonna greeted Pius II with a Latin address when she was ten years old; in England, Jane Grey read Plato in the original at thirteen and Mary Stuart delivered Latin orations at the same age. Small wonder that men worshipped at the shrines of such learning--especially when it was confined to so small a class of women that it was not dangerous to male supremacy.

Probably the chief cause of the ascendancy of the Renaissance lady was that her ambitions were far removed from any desire of equality with men. She did not want rights, she wanted privileges which are far more easily obtained because of the aura of beneficence they cast about the head of the donor. Women wished only to be the inspiration of men; they looked upon themselves as apostles of the life of aesthetic beauty. Many of them ruled but they did it unwillingly and unbecomingly to a dainty and adorable woman. Anne of

France was compelled to draw the sword to keep her subjects in awe and frowned thru her period of enforced dignity while Charles VIII was absent in Italy; but disappeared as quickly as possible on his return, to the delights of the ladylike life. She shrank from the sheer masculinity of speaking in public and was content to control political destinies from the shelter of her glittering and perfumed apartment. Vittoria Colonna, the most generally accomplished woman of the period, delighted far more in the fact that she inspired the masterly art of Michelangelo than that she herself was possessed of some elements of genius.

Naturally, however, the twentieth century reader accepts this reluctance for power cum grano salis and feels sure that in most cases if the ladies had been so very unwilling to accept power--and the men in all human probability eager for it--they might have delegated it to others. Instead, we find Catherine of Sienna triumphantly demonstrating her ability to bring the pope back to Rome when men had failed; Katherine Sforza leading armies, dances and politics with equal grace; Isabel the Catholic dictating orders to Spain's army--tho keeping up the popular ruse by sighing and embroidering meanwhile; and Elizabetta making Urbino the "Athens of Italy" thru her shrewd ability to draw the great and glittering of the time about her. If power and responsibility were so far removed from the hearts

of these Platonists, these seekers of the ideal, these women who gloried in the peculiar attributes of their sex, why did they find no way of escaping the undesirable?

In an age when social life is esteemed superior to political regime conventionalities multiply and life becomes artificial. It is possible that the same subtle deceit which actuated the courtiers to write effusive praises of women in the hope of having some particular kind lady henceforth butter their bread, was also the basis of woman's verbal contempt of worldly responsibility. The age of the supremacy of the lady was an age of shams and mock authority, tho great in advancing the aesthetic side of life. It was the age in which the lady stood for an ideal and every thing was done to elevate her position, except the recognition of her essential humanity. Slaves become dolls and idols but woman remains unemancipated.

Yet even in the glamour of the Renaissance when one woman lectured on law to deferential men in Bologna; when another practically controlled the artistic creations in Rome; and a third and a fourth govern in Spain and France during monarchical absences; when Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North" succeeds in uniting the Scandanavias under one crown, all were not heaping praises on women, all were not worshiping the divine inspirers of aesthetic life. Away from the

glitter of the courts men still scoffed at women. Erasmus called them "silly foolish creatures" whose only existence was to please men. And Griselda, dog-like, self-effacing, downtrodden Griselda was the womanly ideal of the period! No other fact so well illumines the dark truth that in spite of courtiers' unbounded praises, in spite of the learned superiority of a few, the legal status of woman was unchanged. She was the same anomalous creature part slave, part citizen, despicable and negligible in the eyes of the law.

QUEENS: THE LINK BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW REGIME

Since 1500 peoples have grown into nations and dynasties have fallen; the masses have approached freedom; the history of the world has become less a matter of the wars of kings and more truly a narration of human progress. Before the era of modern history woman's legal status was a misnomer: she had none. In fact all the material presented in this essay thus far deals not so much with the history of woman as with the history of the lady. And the lady is essentially an anomaly whom the world might be better without. She is a creature dependent on male labor and is consequently "a hostage in his camp", whose interests are with him and not with her sister women.

This simple truth accounts for much of the material I have presented. Those Assyrian women who figured in

public records were an infinitesimal fraction of their sex. Those ladies who as Roman citizens demanded the revision of pecuniary laws were uninterested in the lives of their slaves or even in the free women below patrician rank. The lady of the castle helped and advised male quests but cared only incidentally for the wives of her husband's tenants. The learned woman of the Renaissance defined her sphere as inspiring men. Even the abbess who directly controlled the lives of scores of nuns lived her fullest life corresponding with politicians and counselling prelates. Queens as a whole show less interest in the welfare of their female subjects than do kings. Thus it happens that altho the status of the lady has shifted during the successive generations the position of woman in general varied only in degree of servitude until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The great movements toward universal male suffrage are also of rather recent date and indeed usually outrun the women's movement in each nation by less than a century. It is well to bear this in mind to the extent that in condemning the absolute ignominy under which the masses of women have labored up thru the ages, man has been but slightly less burdened. Modern history leaves the tale of ladies and gentlemen to take up the grander theme of men and women.

But it was only in the nineteenth century that the feministic awakening occurred. From 1500 to 1850 the history of women was still the story of queens, ladies and serfs. During these years Mary, Anne, and Elizabeth of England, Catherine II of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria furnished material for John Stuart Mill's assertion in his classic The Subjection of Women: "The ladies of reigning families are the only women who are allowed the same range of interests and freedom of development as the men; and it is precisely in their case there is not to be found any inferiority." France also furnishes a quota of brilliant royal ladies during the early modern period that help to bear out this statement. The Renaissance cult of lady worship carries over into the courts of the modern queens. Indeed the female regents of France exercising power ⁱⁿ ~~between~~ the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries are usually classed in the period of the revival of learning.

¶ Elizabethan England was also essentially Renaissance in attitude. The personal vanity of the queen demanded homage from the lords of the realm; her assumption of an attitude of praise and encouragement of letters aided the flowering of literature. She posed as the patron and inspiration of all national enterprise. Masculine in character she yet chose to appear exceptionally feminine and gowned herself in such

gaudy and bulky gewgaws that she awed or disgusted all. The aggressive policy and the national expansion featured during her reign were encouraged rather than originated by her; but wisely came after the needed period of peace which Elizabeth negotiated for her exhausted people. Her greatness lies in the fact that she pursued that never-failing administrative policy of allowing the natural habits and ambitions of the people a sway only slightly supervised; of exalting patriotism; and of effectively demanding the personal allegiance of her subjects. Elizabeth was one hundred per cent. English and just as the citizens of the United States point to Theodore Roosevelt as over and above all else an American, so must the English have felt that their great queen expressed all that was distinctly national in their country at the time--enthusiastic, brilliant, aggressive, independent, hating the Roman church, and despising Spain, she was the epitome of English ideals. "She found poverty and strife and left prosperity and national unity."

Anne was a far less spectacular ruler than her predecessor of the previous century and was successful as a sovereign chiefly to the extent that the government was well enough organized to proceed with small assistance from her. But because of her hatred of the Whigs she studiously meddled in politics and attended all cabinet meetings. Her chief

claim of notability lies in the fact that she was conspicuously a good queen, doing all in her power to ameliorate conditions among the lower classes and being liberal in her gifts to the church. Probably the one monument of her reign was her donation of the tenth of the annates, assumed by Henry VIII to the crown, toward augmenting poor clergymen's salaries; this gift was known as the "Queen's Bounty". Marlborough credits her with expeditious and capable raising of funds for war use. With the wars, however, Anne had little connection and should neither be credited or discredited with them. It, must on the whole, be admitted that she was a very ordinary woman, good, kind, and indolent with no more inherent right to leadership than had the even more stupid kings who succeeded her.

Two women of continental Europe, outranking Anne, approach Elizabeth in fame as rulers: Catherine II of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria. The latter found at her accession in 1740, by virtue of the famous Pragmatic Sanction, that Frederick II of Prussia was waiting to seize Silesia; Spain and Naples laid violent hands on Austrian Italy; and French, Bavarians, and Saxons began to conquer western Austrian provinces. But with resolute spirit she called the Magyars to her aid with such success that altho she did not recover Silesia or Parma, she did build up a patriotism among her people which, after the

peace of 1748, enabled her to institute great reforms in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. Thus did Maria Theresa justly place herself in the rank of enlightened despots. After the exhausting Seven Years' War she again turned to reform, this time attempting to lessen the burden of the peasantry and to mitigate the penal code. Altho she was an ardent Catholic she forbade the presence of priests at the making of wills, suppressed the inquisition at Milan, and forbade monastic vows to those under twenty-five. In the partition of Poland, which blots her name, she played a very human but not a humane part--seeing that it was to be divided however much she wept and remonstrated, she decided to take a share rather than see Prussia and Russia benefit too largely by the nefarious deal. So "She wept but kept on taking." Her character thus reveals a curious mixture of strong administrative skill and masterful pride combined with a liberal amount of feminine weakness or goodness, the words thus used being usually synonymous.

Of Tsarina Catherine II it may be said that she was not only the most famous of Europe's long list of royal Catherines, including the arrogant de' Medici who by deceitful intrigue took a leading hand in French politics during the reigns of her three incapable sons, but also towered above the many preceding female rulers in the Russias. For thirty years after Catherine had rid herself of her half-

witted husband she ruled her nation without conscience or scruples but with much political wisdom, redistricting the territory, secularizing church property, and posing as a friend of higher education. She acquired new provinces by driving the Turks from the north coast of the Black Sea, by the partitioning of Poland, and by wresting Sweden's eastern provinces from her. Strong, wise, immoral, and contemptible Catherine!--of herself she made a dissolute and conscienceless profligate, but of Russia she made a great power.

Undisputed preeminence among recent queens is held by Victoria of England, during whose peaceful reign, the longest in English history, the nation made unprecedented progress. But we note that it was during not because of her queenship that such advancement occurred. In fact, one must admit that Victoria came after the age of the usefulness of queens--and kings--in England had atrophied. In spite of her courage, honesty, and wisdom in public affairs she was revered more for her personal character than for any direct contribution toward the nation's welfare. She represented the normal English woman whose life is centered in domestic duties, who is endowed with only average intelligence, and who, finding her own life tolerably free, is little concerned with that of her neighbor; in other words, living at the time of the great feminist reform she did far less for her fellow women

than did any one of a dozen suffragist leaders of the same period.

Thus we come to the end of the list of the greatest great ladies--those patricians, scholars, and queens who by virtue of their superior opportunity have illumined the abyss of woman's legal history--and turn with relief to those masses of human beings who have always supported others but seldom themselves; who have been ever economically dependent in spite of the hardest of labor; who have always maintained loyalty and patriotism tho they have been rewarded only by political nullity and legal prejudice. The history of the masses of women before the nineteenth century was a series of blanks and blots.

Since the grand awakening each nation has pursued its own peculiar policies and progress in the various countries has been by no means equal. Hence it seems advisable to treat each of the great nations in its reaction to the feministic movement as a distinct unit.

THE LATIN COUNTRIES

France.

Because France has followed the ancient Salic law in accepting no female ruler she is often branded in an offhand manner as prejudiced against women. But there have been twenty-four lady regents over the monarchy, many of them strong in personality and power. Nor should the fact be neglected--tho its merit is extremely

doubtful--that mistresses of the kings have often exercised supreme authority. Furthermore, history bears out the statement that there were some 'overladies' in France during feudal times and that the registers of 1308 show women were sent to the States at Tours as delegates.

The great Renaissance movement, which meant the flowering of femininity in learning and 'influence' but the nominal abhorrence of masculine enterprises, was the forerunner of the rise of the salon in the eighteenth century. This was a ladylike century--rooms became smaller and more elegant, furniture became less awkward and massive, Pastel, in the realm of art, was invented to express the ladies of the period, and accomplished the task surpassingly well. Madame de Pompadour, Mlle, de Lespinasse and others of their ilk show in a fairly accurate manner the female political talent of the day and the use to which it was put. Montesquieu says of the ladies of the court that they formed a state within a state, helping each other by influencing men. Subtle intrigue was the order of the day when conventionalities were supreme and even the most powerful women must according to etiquette, flaunt their weakness and need of protection as the bait to political fish of all sizes.

These secretly potent publicly helpless women instituted the salon, the first being opened in 1750 by Madame de Boufflers. This was a gathering so social in nature that conventionalities were not abused if the lady, in her own drawing room, voiced her views on matters of

state. The salonierre was a brilliant diplomatist and a keen thinker who led while seeming to follow. Small wonder that in a short time the salons of Paris all but controlled politics. One lady voiced the truth of the situation when she advised a politically ambitious youth to make friends among the ladies rather than men, as thru the women he could influence the men. The surest way to the Academy lay in a lady's recommendation; the success of plays, pictures, even philosophies depended on her. Thus Madame de Luxemburg helped Rousseau and Madame de Richelieu protected Voltaire.

The salon has never been entirely comprehensible to Anglo Saxons. Walpole worried because he had formed an interest in Madame de Deffoud which was totally inexplicable to his countrymen because she was old and ugly. Inter-sex friendship is all but inconceivable to the English mind. On the other hand, Anglo Saxon women abhor the trickery and underhandedness which, to them, is the kernel of the French woman's influence. In the pursuit of the better order of things the French women have taken the flowery path around the mountain of difficulty while their American and English sisters, contemptuous of this policy, plod straight ahead on the rocky, untrodden, upward trail. Current events point to victory for the latter method of travel.

At the eve of the Revolution the women of France were eager for reform. Condorcet in The Admission of Women to Citizenship voiced all the arguments that have ever

been evoked in favor of universal suffrage. Abbé Sieyès and Saint Just were also advocates of the legal equality of the sexes. The women themselves sent up a special cahier to Louis XVI stating their peculiar grievances. But the majority of the delegates came to the Estates General intent on removing their own grievances only. In the constituent assembly the old unwritten custom was fixed in law: "The crown is indivisible and hereditary from branch to branch, from male to male." Thus the legislators of freedom made haste to label their cogitations and laws "for men only". When the Declaration of the Rights of Man was published, Olympe de Gouges came forward with its companion piece, The Rights of Woman in which she said, "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she should also have the right to mount the tribune." But such argument was only casting pearls before--men. Cambaceres in his code of the convention placed married women equal with their husbands but this also was too violent a break with custom. The day of woman was yet to come.

All thru the Revolution petitions on women's rights were received and discarded unconsidered. The Orateur du Peuple and Bouche de fer discussed the problem unavailingly. But women continued their fight. Being as Michelet states in Les femmes de la revolution, the advance guard of the reforms, they continued their activity until suppressed.

Rose Lacombe who founded women's clubs similar to the Jacobin in which revolutionary policies received excited but interested discussion; and Théroigne de Mericourt, an hysterical young zealot whom a noble had wronged, led the march to Versailles on 5 October, 1789. Madame Robert is given credit--or discredit--by Michelet for instigating the petition of the Champs de Mars. These women with their followers became known as the 'furies' of the revolution--creatures who delighted in the reign of terror, drunken with the madness of brutality and power. No sane person could condone their actions but why their male comrades--more made than they themselves--should have been disgusted with their orgies is only another of the puzzles of history. At any rate, the men did grow contemptuous and in 1793 forbade women to hold meetings or to present petitions.

Frenchmen cannot tolerate women's imitating men. The same methods that gained male freedom tightened the chains of woman's slavery. And the only class of female revolutionary workers that received credit for its labors was the upper caste, such as Madame Roland. The men of France seem unable to comprehend that those females who live by coarse physical labor cannot, if they must act publicly, use the tact and finesse of the elegant hostess of a salon. And after themselves perpetrating the terror they actually decided that women were too excitable for political rights.

Napoleon nailed down the lid which the assemblies and the directory had made to cover the container of tabooed women's rights. The Corsican was a staunch advocate of male supremacy and promptly exiled the most prominent lady in France. It irritated him that Mme. de Staël should so far forget her sex as actually to attempt conversation with him as if she were his equal. "Since when did women presume to meddle in politics?" he snorted at her.

"Since men began to guillotine them, sire", she answered.

The Napoleonic code stands with the canon law as one of the two greatest monuments of man's injustice to woman. According to its principles, widows alone of their sex are allowed personal liberty. The atrocious "community of goods" theory embodied in it has robbed millions of European women of property rights. With no authority over her children or her property, the married woman was a legal slave--tho fortunately in practice her position was usually much better than the law intended. Her single sister was under the perpetual tutelage of her father or other male relative. Women were allowed almost no redress in the courts for those heinous crimes which are too often committed against them. In general, the code was really Napoleonic--no more need be said.

The Restoration was scarcely a more opportune time for advocating women's rights than the military regime that

preceded it. De Bonald, the philosopher of the day, was unhesitant in declaring, "Man and women are not and never can be equal." With the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the woman question came up for more favorable consideration. Americans and English at those dates had partially awakened to the need of reform and their illuminating doctrine was penetrating even the dead night of the Latin peoples. The descendants of the brave foolish women of the Revolution began to demand a broadening of Napoleon's narrow code. The Saint Simonians, the Fourierists, and the literary George Sand preached with varying degrees of radicality the elevation of woman. Marie Deraismus, a wealthy member of the bourgeoisie, began public lectures in the sixties. She and Leon Richer founded and organized the first definite woman's movement in France--concerned chiefly with the amelioration of the economic condition of the sex. In 1878 these workers called the first International Woman's Rights Congress in their native land. Among the members from Paris were two senators and twenty-five deputies. The American delegates were Julia Ward Howe, Mary Livermore and Theodore Stanton. A petition in behalf of rights for women, signed by a thousand of the legal victims was presented to the chamber of deputies in 1881 but was not even fully considered.

Unfortunately, the woman suffrage movement was largely restricted to Paris and even there the membership

in the woman's societies was not large. The French temperament is rather opposed to businesslike procedure on the part of its women, nor are the ladies themselves eager to exchange adoration for respectful equality. In 1901 the Federation of French Women's Clubs with a membership of 73,000 began the active promotion of woman's rights. The Catholic church and the nobility, true to their traditions opposed the movement and the socialist party which supports it is not composed of the middle class as in Germany. Hence the reforms that have been accomplished are insignificant, and are held up to the ridicule of the genteel classes. A Frenchwoman can now stand as a witness to a civil transaction; she can open a bank account in her own name--but her husband can prohibit her from withdrawing this money; her earnings now belong to her. The illicit mother is generously given the jurisdiction over her child to the extent that she can make no demand upon its father; the respectability of the French matron can thus still be determined by the fact that she is the mother who has no jurisdiction over her children.

Educational reforms founded by the appeal of women's societies have been notable. State high schools for girls have existed since 1880. Woman has always been admitted to the French universities but there is no public institution in which she can prepare herself for such admission. In 1907 Madame Curie was appointed professor of physics in the Sorbonne, in Paris. Women may also become lawyers

under present French law. Economic progress has approached educational advance in extent; both are far beyond civil and political readjustment.

There are now three parties in the French woman's movement: the Catholic, the moderate, and the radical, the latter almost entirely socialistic. The Catholic party wants some reforms in education and moral standards but sums up its stand thus: "A high minded woman does not wish to rule. It is her wish to sacrifice herself, to admire, to lean on the arm of a strong man that protects her." The moderate group is small and is composed chiefly of those who have never felt the need of a prop or have sadly detected that certain seemingly strong oaks had acquired the leaning habit. It stands for economic freedom and equality in marriage relations. The radicals want suffrage, equal pay, schools to prepare girls for motherhood, and official regulation of the hours of domestic servants. The fact that these demands can be called radical shows the depth of our mediaeval floundering tho the calendar says 1920.

In the eighties the French women made the attempt which has proved common to most nations of striving to prove that the laws of the country did not really deny them the vote. In the civil law the term 'tout Francais' had been judged to include women. The suffrage laws used the same phrase. Accordingly in the years mentioned women attempted to register--and were promptly arrested.

They argued their case ably but the judges decided that whereas women were included in the criminal law by the phrase under consideration; yet the same words plainly excluded them from political privileges. "Mighty and incomprehensible is the mind of the magistrate."

M. Dussaussy brought forward a bill in 1906, granting local female suffrage but he was too far in advance of his country. In November 1908 women were granted passive suffrage for arbitration courts on trade disputes. With a little gain here and there, with the jibes of women endowed with mediaeval minds, and the sneers of little men who feared feminine competition, the cause struggled on. La Francaise and other suffrage magazines lent energy to the hated movement, but its time was not yet.

It was tacitly admitted that the war should call a truce on sex conflict. When, however, French women expressed a willingness in 1915 to adopt war orphans, they found the black wall of Napoleon still obstructed their progress. The chamber of deputies condescended to cut a hole in the code just large enough to admit the matter under question. In the following year the French Suffrage Union returned to propaganda work in an effort to obtain better working conditions and hours for the myriads of girls forced into industry by the war. The outlook seemed bright in 1918. Louis Martin introduced a bill into the senate which provided for both active and passive suffrage for women. The opening speeches in both

chambers had advocated some recognition in return for woman's splendid patriotic work during the great conflict. The debates soon proved, however, that opposition was not dead. Finally the parliamentary commission on universal suffrage decided to support a compromise measure granting women of thirty the right to sit in local assemblies. Clemenceau was willing to give the elite of the sex all suffrage rights but cared to do nothing for the rank and file of women. The measure failed.

Enough has been done to show that France is alive to the situation. Sooner or later she will of necessity follow Anglo-Saxon nations in emancipating her women. The date depends on the women themselves--no country will force a franchise on unwilling citizens. France had her big opportunity in the day of the Revolution; she might have been the first to give political justice to all her people--now she may be the last.

BELGIUM

Belgium is very similar to France in the temperament of its people, and its women are burdened by the same atrocious legal code. Because none but the fourth estate are much concerned with the woman's movement, the whole matter seems disreputable and good material for crude jokes. Practically the same small victories have been won as in France: the wife can now control her earnings and deposit money in the savings bank; she can also act as guardian for a minor orphan. In 1894 woman suffrage was made part of a bill which also embodied plural voting for

the wealthy. Not even the socialists could support such a measure and the clericals thus subtly attempted to show that the radicals were deserting the women. The years 1908 and 1909 saw the foundation of two strong suffrage associations in Belgian cities through whose means the cause of justice will be materially furthered. The only suffrage the Belgian women hold, since their local franchise was usurped in 1830, is that of voting for the Board of Trade, an important tribunal of the nation. When France grants women the full franchise Belgium will probably follow immediately.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Spain and Portugal are the most backward of the backward Latin countries in the matter of justice to women--and in most other things, since no better single standard by which civilization can be measured has ever been devised than that of ascertaining a nation's attitude toward its women. Half the population of these countries are still perpetual minors. Spain does allow an unmarried woman to buy and sell property but not so her married sister. Portugal is one of those ancient-minded countries that granted universal suffrage in its constitution without even considering what the terms really meant. Whereupon Dr. Beatrice Angelo proceeded to vote. And the courts not being able to evade the language of the law as had their brother magistrates in England and France, upheld her. A provision was hurried through the

legislature, however, to prevent such a thing's happening again. The Spanish lady still exercises power through cunning and intrigue and heartily denounces the women's movement which would shake her pedestal. She is in no immediate danger for Spain and Portugal need educational reform far worse than political reconstruction; in fact the latter would be ineffective while the people remain so ignorant. In 1878 only nine per cent. of the Portuguese women could read and write, and although this proportion has more than doubled it would still be untruthful to say that the women as a whole could vote intelligently to ameliorate their condition. When education has elevated the mental level of the Spanish and Portuguese women, suffrage will naturally follow. Until then the ballot would be a dangerous weapon in their hands.

In Mexico and the South American Republics no united effort has yet been made to 'modernize' laws concerning women. A lady must have a male escort when she appears in public, even if it is a small boy. If a woman's husband dies, her son may become her guardian. Chile is a trifle ahead of her fellows in having a fairly well established woman's suffrage movement which thus far, however, has concerned itself primarily with the economical emancipation of the female sex. Uruguay followed the many large nations of the world who granted suffrage in 1919 after the war.

ITALY

Since the days of the Roman republic Italy has been the battle ground of feministic movements. At the height of the Roman empire women were ruled by a fairly enlightened civil code and exercised much political power. Again during the Renaissance centuries ladies of Italy blossomed into international prominence. Then they subsided into a numbed toleration of their social and legal burdens, to be awakened by the fight for the union of Italy into an independent national state. La Donna & La Cornelia, woman suffrage magazines, were begun almost immediately after the organization of the sovereign state. In 1866 the wife was given the guardianship of her children during her husband's absence. In 1876 a bill granting female local franchise was introduced into the Italian parliament but failed of passage. Salvatore Morelli spent years in active advocacy of women's rights, apparently without avail. Since 1881 women's clubs have strengthened the demands for legal reform. Beginning in 1905 organized committees have done aggressive work in all Italian cities. But the Italian women do not care for their rights; they need education. In the southern part of the state they go thru life as legal children without sensing humiliation. Only recently have they been spurred on by the taunt that all Teuton countries will have emancipated their women while those of the Latin

nations are still in bondage.

By 1912 a change was noted in the attitude of Italy towards its woman question; it was no longer a basis only of coarse jokes and cultured irony. Premier Giolitte who had so long opposed it stated seriously that he believed womanhood suffrage must some day be adopted. In that year ~~they~~^{women} were given the vote for the Chambers of Commerce. Prior to this date they had become eligible to Poor Law Relief Committees in 1890; to Commercial Courts in 1893, and to the School Committee in 1907. The socialists and Republicans have had a woman suffrage plank in their platforms since 1913. The same enthusiasm aroused in other nations because of woman's faithful war work caused the introduction of universal suffrage bills sponsored by the government in 1918 and 1919. The Catholic party endorsed the suffrage movement as a war measure, thus joining the Socialists and Republicans and succeeding in passing a franchise bill thru the Chamber of Deputies on September 4, 1919. The measure has not yet (May, 1920) received final sanction.

Little Uruguay in South America is the only Latin nation thus far to enfranchise its women. Racial temperament is responsible for this lack of progression. The Spaniard, the Italian or the Frenchman will fight for the possession of a woman but not for her freedom. The women themselves

love intrigue and personal power thru individual charm and beauty rather than mere commonplace legal power and rights. Were it not for the abundance of international intercourse which brings the ideals of all nations into association, and often adoption by other powers, it would probably be centuries before Latin women would successfully demand legal emancipation.

SLAVIC NATIONS

RUSSIA

The Slavic nations were almost irretrievably barbarous in their treatment of women until the eighteenth century. It was a common daily duty of all men to beat their wives in order to show their proper authority over them. Catherine II was one of the few queens who undertook to elevate woman's status and even with her it was only a minor part of her administrative policy. Woman was given the right to own property and control it herself. Suffrage-mad people hailed Russia as a liberal country in the eighteen hundred eighties and nineties because they discovered a semblance of woman's franchise in that empire. Women have long held the privilege of voting, by proxy, in the ~~Zemstvos~~ ^{Zemstvos} or local peasants' meetings. A real feministic movement was, however, unorganized until 1905 when men were given national franchise. The peasant women from three towns sent in a tearful petition to the Czar: "Till now even though we were beaten sometimes, still we decided various matters together. Have pity on us in the name of God! We had

formerly the same rulers as our husbands; now our husbands are going to write the laws for us."

Prior to the war all parties except the extreme Conservatives had adopted woman suffrage as part of their programs. When the dawn for the human treatment of Russian women was just tinting the eastern sky the black cloud of Bolshevism, shot thru with lightnings of licence and terror, blotted out their future. Some few extol the theoretical position of women under the soviet regime, none extol the practical position of the sex. The fundamental idea of the change is a retroaction toward the ancient confusion of women with property. The status of the Russian woman today is that of the person who stands at the brink of a volcano which may become eruptive at any moment. Natural evolution of civil status has been halted and thrown backward. Freedom for Russian women is a mere dream for future realization.

POLAND

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia enfranchised women as a matter of course when they obtained their autonomy. In the old independent days there were often Polish queens and Polish military commanders of the female sex. The women of this long-suffering people have ever been of the strong rather aggressive type. It will be remembered that the most ardent of America's early feminists was a Pole outlawed by the Russian Czar. About 1840 groups of women called Entuzyastki began to hold social meetings rather similar to the salons of France. They succeeded admirably

in arousing the people to the necessity of reform but could go no farther until war broke the German, Austrian and Russian fetters that bound the erstwhile free nation. Universal suffrage was granted in 1918. There are now (1920) six women in the Polish diet, five of them teachers. One is on the committee to formulate the new constitution; one is chairman of the Committee on Public Health and Labor; one is secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. An American woman recently from Poland tells of her embarrassment when the Polish women told her they wished to model their public life after that of American women and she was forced to explain that they were already ahead of those they wished to imitate.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The new government of Czecho-Slovakia announces "while it is true that woman's place is first and foremost in her home, it is also true that there are many political, economic and social problems affecting all classes which will be all the better solved by the presence of women in the Council Chambers." So women were enfranchised in 1918. During their dependent life the Czecho-Slovak women had, however, had some privileges. Since 1864 most Bohemian municipalities have allowed women of the upper class a proxy vote. The civil code is still barbarously single-sexed and awaits the revision which women are bound to undertake now that they have acquired the necessary power. There are twelve ladies in the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly

who are planning a Bureau for the Protection of Women's rights which shall have official recognition under the Ministry of Social Welfare, itself a creation of the women citizens. The new constitution approved May 5, 1920 grants universal adult suffrage on equal terms to men and women.

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia have all the liberality and progression of youth. Some of the dignified big nations will have to accelerate their advancement if they wish to keep abreast of them in the thorough equality of political privilege.

HUNGARY *

On May 4, 1920 the vice president of the National Council of Women wrote to Mrs. Catt, our suffrage president, "I am sure you will be glad to know that today brought us the election of the first woman as a member of the parliament here in Hungary. She is Sister Margit Schlacta, formerly a school teacher." Fifty years ago Sister Margit would have been hissed and scorned, probably imprisoned if she had dared to speak in public. The World War telescoped centuries of natural evolution into a half decade in Hungary as well as in numerous other nations. The Hungarian suffrage of 1918 has a literacy qualification for women that is not applied to men. Even thus limited it will make possible an elevation of woman's civil status which is really more essential to her well being than her political position can ever be.

In 1909 the Serbian Federation of Women's Clubs joined the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and since that date

have sent innumerable petitions for political rights to their parliament. The post-war wave of feminism brought success in 1918 to their early endeavors. Roumania enfranchised her women in the same year.

As a whole the Slavic peoples have gone thru an extremely rapid evolution. When Peter the Great ruled Russia a modified harem system was still in vogue among the Slavs. From the depths of servitude and seclusion the Slavic women have progressed to a position approximately equal to that of their Latin sisters in civic freedom and approaching Teutonic women in political privilege.

THE GERMANIC COUNTRIES

SCANDANAVIA

The Scandanavian countries are very closely related in customs, ideals, and individual temperament--a strong, hardy race, high in ethical aspirations, weak in conformity to etiquette or conventionality. Their mythology is not dominated by woman the temptress or woman the adorable but by the Valkyrie, a creature with power and free choice, a crude, strong being to be respected not idolized or trampled into nullity. And the Valkyrie still lives among the Anglo-Saxons and Scandanavians, in spite of her long imprisonment, and is even being resuscitated among the Germans who have descended farther from ancient Teuton ideals than have the other two divisions of the racial branch.

Stubborn and slow as they were in giving up the masculine prerogatives acquired by ages of conquest and religious domination, the Scandanavians as a whole were the first racial branch to grant universal womanhood franchise in all parts of their domains. From 1905 to 1918 a vast crescendo of suffrage reform placed northern Europe among the leaders of the feministic movement. Since 1910 a Scandanavian Family Law Commission, composed of two men and one woman from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have been revising woman's legal status. New marriage, divorce, property, guardianship, and illegitimacy laws have resulted.

Finland is Scandanavian in thought and origin but has the status of a grand duchy under the Russian government, or had while Russia was under a unified government. Internal affairs have been almost entirely in the hands of a native Diet since 1906, when the new constitution was granted. It was because of woman's fight for this constituent law that their brothers granted them full dietary suffrage on the same basis as their own franchise--all over twenty-four thus hold the vote. This was, however, no sudden break with custom for in 1863 municipal franchise had been bestowed on tax-paying women in rural districts and nine years later the same suffrage had been extended to the similar class of city dwellers. The Finnish Women's Association formed to demand equal rights was unceasing in its labors toward that end. November, 1904 saw the first public meetings

demanding universal suffrage,, gatherings that were so popular that they were attended by more than a thousand women and to which forty-seven addresses of sympathy signed by women from all parts of the duchy were forwarded. After the great national strike of the succeeding year, Dr. Tekla Hulsin of the national bureau of statistics made a plea to have women included in the request for the franchise to be made to the czar. When this conservative gentleman had grown so liberal as to sign a document which he really thought of small importance the contest was carried into the Diet which passed the woman's enfranchisement measure with only one dissenting vote. The next diet contained nineteen women, mostly middle aged, placid matrons,-- not at all the sharp tongued, lantern-jawed spinster type that men fear and detest. Since that auspicious opening there have always been sixteen to twenty-five women in the parliamentary assembly who have introduced many measures on social reform that Russia has hastily vetoed. Had Finland been a sovereign state, its women would probably hold the world's record on the speed and accuracy with which they would have attained human status. Surely the masculine legislative body in Australia, and the presence of but one woman in the British parliament bespeak a mental attitude on the part of those nations that is a century behind that of little, insignificant Finland.

Norway was the first sovereign state in the world to grant universal adult suffrage,, this prestige of culture and justice being obtained in 1913 when all men and women

twenty-five years old were admitted to the franchise. But the struggle that thus culminated so successfully, although shorter than the conflict in some other nations, was a long one. In 1882 Camilla Collett, a feministic leader, was still lamenting the fact that Norway was so far behind the rest of Europe in emancipating its women. Laws of inheritance cutting off the daughter with an amount one half of that which her brother received were not repealed until the nineteenth century. The disparity between the wage scales of the sexes is only at present demanding revision.

With the bestowal of local franchise in 1901 on those women who paid taxes on property valued at \$75 in the country or on \$110 worth of urban property the actual attainment of results began. The succeeding election saw 18 women on common councils and 160 female substitutes. The same year witnessed the admission of women to jury service. In 1905 when the country was voting on the question of withdrawing from Sweden the women held unofficial elections in which 300,000 votes for separation were cast. The men had voted only 368,000 strong. Then the feminists asked the new parliament if it were going to be less just and magnanimous than the Finnish Diet. The government decided to favor franchise reform but set a limit to its leniency. 350,000 women were admitted in 1907 under the act which gave full parliamentary prerogatives to women paying taxes on \$84 in rural districts or on \$113 in the city, they being allowed to vote on their husband's income.

Miss Anna Rogstad, a teacher, was the first Norwegian woman to discharge parliamentary duties (in 1909) because of the absence of her alternate. A bill to remove tax-paying disabilities on parliamentary suffrage failed in 1911 but was successful two years later. Women are now eligible for all offices except the diplomatic and consular service and the bench of the supreme court. Norwegian legislation displays a tendency to give more attention to social regulations, especially the amelioration of the condition of mothers and children.

In Sweden the political side of feminism has been long and ardently discussed and fought. The mildest of all mild feminist theories, that the adult daughter should be an independent member in the family group with a voice in its government, agitated Sweden by its radicality when preached in the novels of Frederika Bremer in the middle nineteenth century. But by 1862 tax-paying widows and spinsters were given the local vote, thus granting Sweden the honor of being the first modern nation to extend any franchise privileges to its women. Equal inheritance laws and an act removing the disabilities of women to carry on business in their own names had been passed even earlier. The opening of our century saw nearly one hundred active suffrage societies at work in this country. By 1907 they had succeeded in having all qualifications removed from the local vote but were still failing in their parliamentary campaign. A petition signed by 141,121 women was presented to the national legislature with the demand for universal adult

enfranchisement. Such a liberal bill passed the lower house in 1909 and again in 1912 only to be killed in the upper section of the parliament. The Norwegian success of 1913 added force to the Swedish women's demand. Not until 1919 was universal adult suffrage finally adopted.

Iceland, the Danish Arctic dependency, set its mother country a similar wise example to that which New Zealand afforded the British Empire. In 1882 the Icelandic parliament granted active local suffrage to widows and spinsters, which was made passive also in 1902. Property qualifications were removed and married women also included in the franchise act of 1909. Full parliamentary suffrage was given in 1914. As in Norway and Finland, the active role of the women in the struggle for independence made the men more willing to recognize their worth. When the number of nations that have enfranchised their women as a result of the World War is considered, together with the civil insurrections just mentioned the absurdity of the ballot-bullet argument is apparent. Although women do not fight with guns except in rare instances they do share the labors and burdens of conflict and have received more rights for their war work than for all the pacifistic lady-like procedure they have ever undertaken. When the Icelandic municipal vote was granted to certain females it included only those past forty, with provisions for a gradual decrease in the age limit. Teutons reach maturity later than do the Latin peoples and are thus partially justified in their high age limits; but in all countries women reach full mental stature

earlier than men and it is unreasonable that they be required to wait for the vote longer than their brothers, as is the case in England. The Scandinavian age limit for women varies at present only one year, from twenty-four to twenty-five.

Denmark is said to have treated her women so much better than the statutes indicated that they did not care for reform. However, the ardent contentions on the part of the suffrage associations springing up in the latter decades of the nineteenth century prove that the Danish women are anything but the senseless lotus eaters which the accusation implies. By 1851 the eternal feminine infant had become an adult in the eyes of the law when she had attained 25 years. The same year saw equal inheritance laws established and the local franchise given to tax paying women. Between 1870 and 1880 many women's societies were founded which instituted propaganda so successfully that most of the first rate men of the nation were soon on their side. The affiliation of the Danish organizations with the International Suffrage Alliance in 1904 culminated in the meeting of that body at Copenhagen two years later. The dignity of this meeting of the delegates from twelve nations gave the Danish suffrage cause a wanted prestige and enabled the women to get a bill for full franchise thru the lower house of its legislature in 1907 and again in 1914. Meantime the municipal vote was extended in 1908. The final suffrage bill was passed in 1915 as a part of the new constitution. The rural citizens care little for their

franchise but in Copenhagen the newly privileged citizens are enthusiastic. Women hold places in its council and display a general eagerness to do their share in governing as well as in being governed.

In concluding the outline of Scandanavian evolution, it must again be recollected that suffrage is only a means to an end and its attainment is but a portion of the feminist program. Only in Anglo-Saxon countries has the political progress of woman taken preeminence over social, economic, and moral advancement. Scandanavia and Germany have fought primarily for protection of women against abuses in family and industrial life. Ellen Key, the great Swedish defender of voluntary motherhood and the new morality was opposed to woman suffrage for years. We cannot measure Teuton feminist progress in terms of American ideals. For example, the American is likely to see only something freakish and insignificant in the German struggle for the use of a common title for women instead of the division into Fraulein and Frau--an arbitrary separation which makes possible such an epithalamium refrain as Donne's "Today put on perfection and a woman's name." Professor Forel wisely states the obvious: "We have no Herrlein and Herren and we should not have Fraulein and Frauen."

The bill fathered by the minister of justice in Norway, Johan Castberg, a Law Concerning Children whose Parents Have not Married Each Other" is the sanest, most just bill of its kind that has ever passed a legislature. It provides for mutual parental support of the child. Napoleon's

code made inquiry concerning paternity forbidden; the Norwegian code makes it compulsory. The Anglo-Saxon evolution of woman's status has been education; then political and finally social, tho that stage is just beginning in Great Britain. The Germans demanded first economical reform, then "new ethics" and finally suffrage. The Scandanavians applied more nearly equal stress to the various branches of reform and sought primarily a general uplift. All have been fairly successful in their own methods of procedure.

GERMANY

Many people looked upon imperial Germany as the most unregenerate of the western nations in the treatment of its women. In some respects this idea was not incorrect. Little can be said in behalf of a race of women physically and mentally strong who allow themselves to be put into the rank of breeding machines; less still can the men who put them there deserve admiration. The church and the trade guilds of a few centuries ago worked with the oppressors against the oppressed. "The seamstresses of Constances now and forever shall only sew linen and cloth, and nothing else neither woolens nor furs," said the guilds; and in the great increase of prostitution that followed on the part of those creatures who sold their bodies to escape domestic thralldom, the church, as usual, overlooked the cause of the evil and attempted to appear charitable by building in many towns 'Homes for Repentant Magdalenes.' Woman sunk lower and lower in German bondage until the

institution of the factory system, which in all the Teutonic nations of Europe was the prime instigator of the modern women's rights movement.

Luise Otto who made a protest against the treatment of tailoresses in 1848, began her association of German women in 1865 with wholly economic purposes. The Lette Verein in Berlin the next year was also vocational in nature. "What we do not want," said the founder with undue emphasis on the negative, "and what we never wish and intend, not even in the most distant century is the political emancipation and equality of woemn. "The 'new ethics' with its demand for the protection of women and children and a single standard of morals followed the economic demands. Education also received attention. The fundamental reason why women did not make political requests was in the law of the empire and not in their own lack of interest and desire for reform. Not until 1908 did the imperial government allow women to assemble for political purposes. Then suffrage societies sprang up like mushrooms--but the first ones were organized with benign purpose of getting men to vote. The single sexedness of the German civilization was so strong that it seemed impossible to leave the worm-eaten idea that whatever was done to alleviate the misery of woman must have the ultimate aim of making her a more fit companion for man.

By 1912, with the usual Teuton thoroughness, suffrage societies had been organized in every little hamlet in the empire. And when in 1913 the usual petition for woman's

suffrage was presented in the Reichstag it was not thrown unopened into the waste basket as had happened in former years, but was considered at length. The social democratic party had become publicly attached to the cause of woman but maintained that it would never unite with the suffrage advocates from the capitalistic classes. There is also a demoninational division among the women workers of Germany that has lessened the effectiveness of their demands.

The result of the war and the succeeding revolution is best told in the words of Marie Stritt one of the most energetic feminists of the German nation: "In the storm of the Revolution with one blow full citizenship has fallen right into our laps--not limited in any direction neither property nor education nor age limitations but including all without exceptions, as universal, equal, secret, and direct suffrage in empire, state and municipality for all men and women over twenty years of age." In the September elections of 1919 women cast fifty-four per cent. of the votes for members of the National Assembly. The German women have ample material to work with; the nation needs new civil codes and new ideals. No civilization in the world is so masculine as that of the Germans; none is more in need of the humanization that is only possible in a country in which both sexes have equal initiative.

AUSTRIA

Because of Catholic domination the position of Austrian women has for centuries been very analogous to their status in the Latin countries. The wives of the nation do not yet

have control of their own earnings. In the field of politics more kindness has been shown than in civil life. Since 1849 women taxpayers have had a limited proxy vote which was extended in 1861 and again in 1873 when owners of large estates were given parliamentary franchise. On the other hand, a foolish measure prohibiting women from political assembly kept the few voters from united effort in behalf of their sex. In the delirium of democracy which succeeded the overthrow of the empire all barriers were removed and women received the franchise in 1918. The acquiring of the equality which the law theoretically provides will be a much more tedious task.

HOLLAND

Although the Netherlands have often been ruled by queens the inhabitants have shown an ultra-conservatism toward the general introduction of women into public life. When Bertha von Marenholz visited the country in 1856 in the interests of schools, better babies, etc., the Dutch were shocked out of their stolidity by the appearance of a woman on the lecture platform. The women have indeed been so well disciplined under the pernicious Napoleonic code that they have shown inclination, probably coerced inclination, to elect men as presidents of their own philanthropic associations. But Holland is fundamentally a freedom-loving nation and when the fact was once drilled into their consciousness that women were actually being unfairly treated, a fact never suspected by any average citizen until told of it, suffrage associations were formed--

and the fight was on. In 1917 the Dutch legislators with inscrutable logic made women eligible to govern any or all parts of the nation but not to choose such governors. Twenty women candidates were scattered thru the lists of nominees put forth by nine parties after the passage of this bill. Miss Suze Groeneweg was thus elected to the Dutch lower house of parliament before she herself could cast a ballot. Not until July, 1919 were the women of Holland granted active as well as passive suffrage. At present the conservative Netherlands have a woman in each house of the national legislative body while the progressive United States is still quarreling over the advisability of granting women the ballot.

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland bears with the United States and France the dubious prestige of showing republican government opposed to woman's rights. No women have fought harder but more ineffectively than those of Europe's oldest republic. Under Marie Goegg they started the international women's associations and thus benefited others while remaining unable to help themselves.

GREAT BRITAIN.

English law is regarded as an indigenous growth, less influenced by foreign codes than that of any other nation. Yet in its statutes relative to women very little originality has been displayed; and the same evolution from barbarous freedom, thru more barbarous slavery, into civilized liberty has taken place in the island empire as in continental

Europe. During the long ages elapsing between Boadicea's heroic but tragic leadership of the English forces and the twelve-hour daily pulling of coal cars by women in the depths of English mines in the nineteenth century, there was an intermittent demand for the elevation of woman's status.

In feudal times women held a few of the important estates and received homage but could not render it. The power of the abbess at this period has already been explained. Documents relating to the parliamentary elections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seem to show that women participated. In 1572 Dorothy Pakington, the sole elector being a minor, returned two men to parliament. Many historians deny outright the assertion--usually made by suffragettes--that women used to vote in England. This much is certain, voting, or being called to parliament in those good days was a burden, not a privilege and it is probable that if, by virtue of land holdings, any woman was in duty bound to act as an elector she usually hired a man to take her place as proxy. Women have always wanted rights but they have not always desired the franchise. The feudal lady was much more delighted with her permission occasionally to act as constable than she would have been with the mere opportunity to say 'aye' or 'no' in council. Anne, countess of Dorset, was the envy of her sex because she held the all-important position of sheriff.

.

Private law has always shown a sharp cleavage between the rights of single and married women. In England it may in general be said that the privileges of the former are of Anglo-Saxon derivation while the position of the latter is derived from canon law which has always assumed control over the marital relation. The unmarried female has from ancient times enjoyed, at least theoretically, almost the same rights under private law as the male; she can sue and be sued and make contracts and wills without the consent of any guardian. The ancient laws, like those of Rome, were kind to the married woman also. Those of Ine in the early eighth century gave her one third of her husband's property at his death--a tradition still in force in many of the United States. But canon law penalized motherhood. By the provisions of Magna Carta, in which the influence of the Church is in portions discernible, no woman could accuse a man other than her husband of murder. The Sumptuary laws of Edward III in 1363 which stated that women must dress according to the incomes of their husbands; and which were copied into the blue laws of some of the New England colonies, may be adopted again if extravagance can be proved to work the paralysis on the female character that alcohol has effected on the male. Blackstone as late as 1763 admitted that wife-beating was still within the law. A woman who killed her husband was guilty not of murder but of treason until the reign of George III and was drawn and burned alive for such a heinous offence against proper constituted authority. On the other hand, if a married woman committed

a crime in company with her husband she was tacitly supposed to have done so under coercion and was not brought to trial.

The feministic movement of English ladies that corresponds to the rise of the salon in France was the appearance of the so-called "blue stockings." They did not sense or care for man's detestation of a learned woman and flaunted their culture in a manner which, tho conservative enough to a twentieth century mind, was disagreeable and unladylike to the eighteenth century gentleman. Jane Austen sensed the lack of diplomacy on the part of these earlier literary ladies when she said, "A woman, if she has the misfortune to know anything, should conceal it as well as she can." Yet in spite of their tactlessness and honesty the "blue stockings"--so named from a prominent lady's having importuned a certain gentleman, when he told her he had no suitable apparel, to come in his old blue stockings, and the jokes consequently cracked at her expense for being a friend of such hosiery--were influential in awakening the public to the possibility of the cultivation of female brains. Lady Mary Wortley Montague is an example of the 'blue stocking' with much personal influence in the statescraft of the day.

The great movement by, for, and of women which took root in the nineteenth century sprang from seeds of earlier planting. Besides the literary women that have been mentioned there were other sporadic societies and utterances that furnished seeds for feminism. In 1641 the women of

London publicly asserted their right to petition because they suffered misfortunes with men. Such books as Haec et Hoc by James Norris, W. Walshes' A Dialogue Concerning Women, and the Defence of the Female Sex from the pen of Mary Astell show the interest in the woman question prior to 1700. The chief justice of an English court said in 1739: "I don't know that it has ever been determined that women had not the right of voting."

Altho woman suffrage is a much smaller term than woman's rights, any rise in the political status of the sex invariably results in a corresponding elevation in her civil position. Whereas France and Germany have attacked the problem of raising woman economically and civilly before advocating suffrage, the English leaders have been of the opinion that the vote is the only gateway to legal freedom.

Mary Wollstonecraft with her Vindication of the Rights of Women published in 1792 is usually given credit for beginning the great demand for political emancipation that is now culminating in English speaking lands. But five years later Charles Fox was very sure, "It has never been suggested in all the theories and projects of the most absurd speculation that it would be advisable to extend the elective suffrage to the female sex." (In 1997 this speech will probably be quoted to show the depth of barbarity in which the prominent men of the second century previous were submerged). Sidney Smith took up the cause of the victimized half of humanity in 1810. And by 1832 the 'new woman' was so fixed in the minds of the legislators that they carefully excluded her from the reforms by the use of "male persons"

where "persons" had previously sufficed.

With the election of John Stuart Mill to parliament in 1865 a new era began for English people. His The Subjection of Women still remains the classic argument for the equality of human rights before the law. He claimed, however, that suffrage should be granted not as an inherent right but as a matter of expediency. In Disraeli's People's Bill of 1867 he moved to substitute the word 'person' for 'man' and obtained 81 votes on the side of justice. The premier himself acknowledged, "In a country in which a woman can be a ruler, peer,--owner of estates, I do not see in the name of what principle the vote can be denied her."

The next year Mr. Chisholm Anstey, a great constitutional lawyer, decided that certain women "free holders" could legally vote under the old franchise law. About 5000 of them tried it; Lady Sansbrick and twenty women tenants went to the polls and voted for Gladstone. In vast indignation the court of common pleas tried ^a test case and decided adversely on the ground that it was contrary to "usage" for women to vote.

But 'the cause' marched merrily on. The same year saw the founding of the Woman's Suffrage Journal under the editorship of Miss Becker, and in parliament the introduction of a bill by Jacob Bright "To Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women". This measure had passed the second reading when the liberal ministry took alarm and it was killed. Municipal suffrage to unmarried women and widows who were householders

had been granted in 1869 and was followed by the gift of the school vote to this same limited class in 1870. During the following year memorials signed by 9,000 women were sent to Gladstone who rewarded the petitioners with a speech in which he accused his country of political injustice to its women--but he took no steps to remove the stigma from England's name. Measures similar to that of Bright were discussed intermittently from 1871 to 1874. In the last year a Mr. Smollett made such a coarse attack on the bill that he helped materially the cause he attempted to hinder. Punch solicitiously hoped that if the gentleman had really descended from the great novelist he would kindly descend no farther.

Between 1870 and 1884 the political organization of the women had been greatly strengthened. Drawing room meetings and ward and district assemblies for working girls were begun. It was within this decade that Mrs. Josephine Butler by her untiring efforts showed what a woman could accomplish without the franchise. Her heroic fight against legalized vice culminated in 1886 when the obnoxious law was repealed. It was also during these years that the Isle of Man showed its progressiveness. The Isle of Man: Great Britain:: Wyoming: the United States--or differently stated, the full parliamentary suffrage granted Manx women in 1881 was much of an earthquake to the conservative British as was the Wyoming statute of 1869 to our eastern citizens. Parish and district suffrage was granted English women who held property of ten pounds annual value in 1894.

The Boer War caused a lull in the interest in feminine emancipation which was startlingly broken by the gale of the militants which swept down on the unprepared English in 1905 and continued with unabated vigor until the opening of the World War. Thirteen bills for woman suffrage had been introduced between 1870 and 1905--all had failed of passage. Millicent Garrett Fawcett wondered in 1872, "how long will it be before the legislature listens to the demands of those who urge their claims without blowing up prisons or knocking down park rails." The other women wondered also for thirty-five years--then they ceased speculation and acted. They had come to the conclusion, in which history certainly justifies them, that man can see his fellow creatures' rights only thru broken windows and in the light of burning buildings. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, with its constitutional methods, decided to merge with the National Women's Social and Political Union which had always been characterized by more or less coercive methods. In 1906 Lloyd George and John Burns had accepted, passively, the doctrine of legal equality. The women had found that a measure must be supported by the government if it was to be successful. They harrassed the ministry on every issue, declaring themselves hostile to the liberal party until it declared for them. The labor party stated that it was in sympathy with the suffragists but its support was not strong enough to be effective. Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Annie Kenney, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence led the militant disturbances and the hunger strikes

which they instituted when they were imprisoned for pouring acid in mail boxes, blockading traffic and disturbing the peace. The world of the future will never forgive England for its treatment of the militant suffragists, which was very analogous to the desire on the part of certain radical republican senators at the close of the American Civil War to regard confederate heroes as traitors. The united political motive of the offences was in both cases disregarded.

Belligerent tactics always arouse hostility in return. A large party of anti-suffragists, led by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, attempted to show the utter futility of militant tactics. I am not so sure that they were futile. Had men been perfect they would certainly have been very crude and foolish, but in that event women would have had the suffrage and the tactics would never have been used. As it was, men sputtered and sneered but the woman's cause grew in strength. In 1907 The Qualification of Women Act opened county and municipal offices to all women in the ten pound householding class. There are now more than 1500 women serving as poor-law guardians and several small towns have female mayors, the first being Mrs. Lee of Oldham in 1907. More money was spent and more workers enlisted in the English suffrage movement than to obtain all the manhood suffrage in the world.

Finally in 1913 premier Asquith agreed to include somewhat limited woman's parliamentary suffrage in his reform bill. But the measure was soon so submerged in amendments

that the speaker of the House of Commons ruled that it must be reintroduced. The women militants immediately dubbed the prime minister a pledge breaker, which was rather an unkind epithet and a decidedly tactless one but, fortunately, was not taken too seriously for in 1916 the premier stated: "During the war the women of the country have rendered as effective service as any other class in the community. If you are going to bring in a new class of voters on whatever ground of state service, none can possibly deny their claims, "His Registry Bill of that year finally came to fruition in the Representation of the People Act of 1918, the woman's clause of which passed the house of lords by a 134-76 vote on January 10. The irony of the law is that it was presumably passed to reward women for their war work and to show the militants that when they ceased their tactics, as they did during the great conflict, that the government would then mete out justice to its women; yet the bill enfranchises only those past thirty years of age, thus denying the vote to practically all of the active war workers and granting it to all the militants. This undemocratic act of enfranchisement further restricts the female vote to those having passed a six-month tenancy on property valued at five pounds annually. Women college graduates, past thirty, may also vote for the fifteen university members in parliament. Restricted as the clause relative to female suffrage is in comparison with the male franchise which is now universal, it adds 6,000,000 voters to the nations electorate--more than the sum total added by

all previous enfranchisement acts. England is always ~~and~~ slow to change but universal suffrage will come in time when the sentiments of the citizens have progressed sufficiently. Lady Astor has taken a seat in parliament thru the prerogatives of the act of 1918 and it is to be hoped that enough other women will soon follow that she will no longer appear an anomaly and more attention will come to be paid to what female legislators say and less to what they wear.

With the advent of woman suffrage will come better marriage laws, equal pay for equal service, and improved economic conditions for women--and men. The civic status of English women has been evolving simultaneously with the political position and is no nearer to the ideal at present, mothers are still discriminated against in the guardianship of children and in the grounds for the obtaining a divorce. Legislation supposedly prejudicial in their favor is gaining ground e. g. acts prohibiting women from working in mines and other situations regarded as injurious to the health. Such laws appear to be mere camouflages of the old regulations that always placed children, idiots, insane, and women in the category of the unfit. Women must decide for themselves whether any legislation that is partial to either sex can stand the acid test of true democracy.

New Zealand is undoubtedly the best place in the world for any woman to live who does not feel the call of the reformer within her strong enough so that she desires to fight for freedom before she enjoys it. The infant death

rate is only half of the corresponding American rate. And what has that to do with woman's legal status? It means admirable social legislation and social legislation usually means that women have originated it. In 1866 the women of New Zealand were granted municipal suffrage followed by the school vote in 1877; in 1893 full parliamentary suffrage, in the active but not the passive sense, was given the women of the democratic island. Many remarkable social laws attest the influence of these enfranchised women: single standard divorce laws; disability of the husband deprive his wife of her dower by will; saloons closed on election days; age of consent for girls raised to seventeen years; and the admission of women to the bar. Eighty per cent, of the female electors vote in New Zealand while seventy five per cent. of the men exercise their franchise now as opposed to sixty-five per cent. before female competition entered the field. As Colorado is continually cited to show what women can do in the United States so New Zealand is the world example of the governmental uplift due not to the 'influence' of women but to the exercise of their rightful power.

Australia in many respects is the most progressive nation in the world. To her we looked for our voting system, our minimum wage laws, and governmental ownership of public utilities. Her usual enlightened attitude has also been exhibited toward her women. South Australia gave full state suffrage in 1895, West Australia in 1899, New South Wales in 1902, Tasmania in 1903, Queensland in 1905 and Victoria in 1908. The federal government bestowed parliamentary suffrage on all Australian women in 1902. This nation and

New Zealand make one absurd limitation in some of their suffrage grants, the franchise is active only; that is women can vote but not be voted for. No such curtailment of privilege is contained in the federal franchise of the commonwealth of Australia but in most of the individual colonies no woman can yet sit in the state councils. Vida Goldstein is the only woman who has suggested herself for a position in the federal parliament and she has failed of election. In 1910 the Australian government passed resolutions in regard to the part played by women in politics to the effect, "That as foreseen by its advocates its effects have been (a) to gradually educate woman to a sense of their responsibility in public affairs (b) to give more prominence to social and domestic legislation."

Canada did not grant general female suffrage until 1918 but the various provinces had taken some steps previously to emancipate their spinsters and widows. Ontario 1884; New Brunswick 1886, North West Territory (Alberta and Saskatchewan) 1888, Prince Edward Island in the same year, followed in a few months by Manitoba, and in 1892 by Quebec, granted municipal suffrage to property holding widows and spinsters; thus flagrantly discriminating against the biggest portion of the sex under shelter of the leaky argument that the husband represents the wife in legal matters. Nova Scotia in 1887 admitted all property holding women to the franchise. The National Council of Women cooperated with the Suffrage Association for propaganda work in 1907. But

Canada was not overwhelmingly concerned about the legal position of half its citizens, and finally gave federal franchise chiefly because the mother country was setting a wise example. The civil status of Canadian women still requires careful adjustment. The English in America do not display the same eagerness for the best and the newest in government that is so noticeable among the colonies of the south eastern seas.

South Africa like all English speaking lands has given some recent attention to the woman question. Mrs. and Mr. Ancketill, of Natal, in 1902 formed an equal suffrage league which began public work two years later. A petition for the recognition of women in the franchise was presented to the lower house of the Natal legislature but brought no results. A high poll tax, on men only, in these colonies made them adverse to women's assuming men's privileges without also accepting equal duties. Like Canada, the Union of South Africa is composed chiefly of farmers who are always more conservative as a class than are the members of industrial communities. They did, however, grant women the municipal suffrage in 1914 and full franchise in 1919 as a result of the post-war attitude toward them.

Even in India where the dominant religion teaches: "A cow is worth more than a thousand women", the English government has been able to help the poor enslaved people. The suttee has been abolished and the drowning of girl babies officially banned. Thousands of years of natural evolution will be telescoped into a few decades in the

righteous attempt to bring the status of Hindu women to anything approaching the human level. In Burma a limited local franchise has been bestowed upon the women.

Education is the firm foundation of most reforms in English-speaking nations. In those countries where educational opportunity is comparatively sexless, most progress has been made. When the equality of opportunity extends also to the use of the training that has been obtained complete humanization of government will result and sex can then be finally removed from the field of politics where it has never held a legitimate position.

THE UNITED STATES

Because the United States has stood for popular government since the first colonial settlements were made on our eastern coast, she is often given credit for a political liberality and a universality of franchise which she does not possess. Her political history is neither revolutionary nor even unusual in its democratic tendencies, but is very analogous to that of the more enlightened European countries during the same period. The women of America have had the same struggle, successful on the frontier, longer and more difficult in the centers of culture, that has been the lot of other English-speaking peoples.

Likewise there are similar inconclusive evidences cropping out to show that woman suffrage was occasionally in vogue during the seventeenth century in our own as in the mother land. Dr. Kaete Schirmacher avows that nine of

the original states had limited female franchise, but her evidence is not forthcoming. In 1647, however, it is definitely known that Mistress Margaret Brent, heir of the brother of Lord Baltimore demanded place in the Maryland legislature with two votes for her vast estates and was promptly and hotly denied her petition, though not without debate. The colonial records of Massachusetts show that women property holders voted until 1780 for all elective officers, a liberal provision considering the fact that only one fourth of the adult males were enfranchised at that time. The New Jersey constitution gave women the ballot from 1776 to 1807 by conferring the franchise on "all inhabitants worth \$250." A revision in 1790 specifically using the words "he or she" shows that the grant to be women was intentional.

The chief suffrage instigators of the Revolutionary period were Mrs. Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren and Mrs. Hannah Corbin who tried, by influencing their male relatives, to have women included in some of the long lists of rights of men that were so popular at that date. Mrs. Adams besought John her husband: "[d]esire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than were your ancestors." These ancestors were the Puritans who fled to America, ostensibly to obtain freedom, and straightway proceeded to expel Anne Hutchinson for speaking in public, and to hang any superfluous old women as witches, and deny women an education. When a grammar school was founded in New Haven in 1684 it was enjoined that "all

girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school." But it was occasionally permitted that these poor female creatures might sit on the school house steps and listen to the boys recite or might--because of their stronger physique, one supposes--attend school from five until seven in the morning, before the boys assembled, if the master would consent to instruct them.

The first great post constitutional defender of women's rights, which in America have always been closely associated with the ballot, was an immigrant from Scotland, Frances Wright. Her advanced radical communistic ideas were announced from the public platform much to the scandalizing of the good men who had left their wives at home comfortably engaged in manual labor. In 1832 Lydia Maria Child published her History of Woman which was followed by Margaret Fuller's Man vs. Woman: Woman vs Man and Woman and Her Era from the pen of Eliza Farnham. Literature requires less moral courage than speech and often penetrates where public addresses cannot; hence its double effectiveness at the launching of a radical movement. Kentucky opened the modern suffrage vista with the grant of school suffrage to widows in 1838.

The handsome Ernestine Rose, banished from Poland for revolutionary declarations, was the strongest of the early American defenders of women. She lectured to crowded houses on political science; but when in the winter of 1836-7 she carried a petition about Albany, N. Y. asking the removal of the property holding disabilities

from married women, only five men and women would sign it. This is a typical example of the utter paralysis of the very desire for freedom on the part of half of our nation at that time. The leader was undaunted by the cool reception of her petition and carried it to the legislature with an eloquent address. With the aid of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lydia Mott and Pauline Wright Davis the fight was at last successful. In 1848 property rights were given New York women; to which privileges, the guardianship of their children was added in 1860. The tired fighters, without stopping to rest under their laurels, turned straightway to the cause of suffrage.

The Quakers always stood for equality of immunity and privileges; yet they play a minor part in these early hot and bitter women's struggles. This is probably due to their pacific non-aggressive policy and to the fact that having emancipated themselves they did not care to bring trouble and dissension to others. James and Lucretia Mott who figured in early freedom struggles are examples of the more ardent Quakers who desired to carry their own ideals of equality to others.

Their names appear also in the abolition movement which is inseparably connected with the feminist regime of social reorganization. In 1828 Sarah Angelina Grimke of South Carolina, emancipated her slaves and came north to amplify publicly her conversion to abolition. The hall in which she preached was set afire by men who undertook thus gallantly to teach her to return to woman's

place at the washboard and spinning wheel. When Abby Kelly took up the abolition cause a kindly clergyman launched a sermon to the text: "This Jezebel has come into the midst of us." Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman and Abby Hopper Gibbons were but a few of the gifted women who united themselves to the unpopular anti-slavery cause. In the canvas of the field of human rights which the abolition campaign elicited, many individuals saw in a stronger light the slavery under which women were laboring. When the American Anti-Slavery Society began to hint broadly that it was going to call for emancipation of white women as well as black men, the association split, but Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Stanton, and Pillsbury--the really great abolitionists remained with the cause of women. In 1840 men took the dignified notion to refuse to serve on committees with the very women whose funds were largely supporting the anti-slavery cause.

London held a great international convention in that year to which abolitionists from all parts of the world were invited. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Stanton and Elizabeth Pease were delegated from America in company with our male anti-slavery propagandists. The convention was scandalized; it refused to hold sessions until those secondary human beings whom St. Paul had forbidden to speak in public should be relegated to the observers' gallery. Thither Wm. Lloyd Garrison followed them in silent protest. When the humiliated women were once more

safe within their hotel, Mrs. Stanton declared to her comrades, "The first thing which we must do upon our return is to call a convention to discuss the slavery of women."

One Sunday morning, eight years later, Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Mary Ann McClinlock and Martha C. Wright drew up the Declaration of Sentiments and sent an unsigned call to the county paper for a convention "to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of woman." It was held on July 19 and 20 in the church at Seneca Falls, N. Y. and a hundred men and women eagerly signed the declaration which was modelled on the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishing of a tyranny over her.

"He has made her if married, in the eyes of the law, civilly dead."

Among the signers of these statements were the father, mother, and sister of Susan B. Anthony who was teaching school in an adjacent village and unable to attend the convention. This girl, who was to become one of the world's most famous liberators, did not meet the president of the early agitators until 1851.

Resolutions were passed in the Senecan conference on

the same day that the declaration received its endorsement. Two of them were as follows: "Resolved. That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves the right of the elective franchise.

Resolved. That woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator and that the highest good of the race demands that she be recognized as such."

Thus was launched the greatest movement in the greatest nation in the world. The newspapers gallantly remarked that it was organized by "divorced wives, childless women and sour old maids"--it is really unfortunate for their veracity that none of its instigators came in any of these categories. The Philadelphia Public Ledger of the date of this first and momentous woman's convention expressed itself editorially: "Our Philadelphia girls object to fighting and holding office. They prefer the baby-jumper to the study of Coke ^{on?} and Lyttleton. The ladies of Philadelphia, therefore-----are resolved to maintain their rights as Wives, Belles, Virgins and Mothers and not as Women." How they were to maintain rights that did not exist is left unexplained.

Ohio followed the leadership of New York with numerous conventions which resulted in 1857 in the passage of a law depriving a married man of the right to sell property without his wife's consent. In October 1850, the first national convention for women's rights assembled in Worcester, Massachusetts. Nine states were represented by such able individuals as Mrs. Mott, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, Lucy Stone and Mrs. Rose. A review of this meeting by Mrs. John

Stuart Mills in an English periodical aroused greater agitation for 'the cause' in Great Britain.

The half century saw the constitution of Indiana revised under the leadership of Robert Dale Owen to admit a hitherto unheard-of liberality toward woman in the civil code. The cause of the customarily inferior sex began to be agitated in all states. Pennsylvania held its first convention in Woman's behalf in 1852 under the auspices of the ever-progressive Quakers among whom were James and Lucretia Mott. The approach of the great national crisis was the only influence strong enough to quell, even temporarily, the storm of indignation with which awakening women were regarding their status.

Women are always in the vanguard of a just war though in the stupendous civil struggle the northern heroines^e were probably fighting against slavery more than for the union and its preservation. As for their sisters of the south, it is one of the prominent facts of reconstruction that their hatred toward the north was deeper lived than that of their male kindred. The Richmond Examiner of December 9, 1862 expressed the desire that "the future historian when he comes to write of this war fail not to award women their due share of praise for their noble efforts in helping us."

It might be expected that at the end of the struggle the women would have received some of the recognition that they have met at the close of the World War--but the negro took all the attention which the nation could bestow on

suffrage extension. Conventions of the women's associations were, however, systematically held. In 1866 Mrs. Stanton heroically--or foolishly--offered herself as the scapegoat to draw attention to 'new women' by running for congressional election. She polled twenty four votes.

Six years later Susan B. Anthony, already staunchly attached to the cause which she was to spend her life defending, became even more audacious. She went to the board of registration and explained the fourteenth amendment so explicitly that she was allowed to register. Fifty women followed in her path; fourteen voted--and were arrested. All were, however, acquitted but Susan who was fined. Then the inspectors who registered her were brought to trial because they "did knowingly and wilfully register as a voter . . . one Susan B. Anthony . . . there and then a person of the female sex . . . contrary to the form of the statute of the United States and against the peace of the United States of America and their dignity."

The National Woman Suffrage Association was formed May 15, 1869 with Mrs. Stanton as president and Miss Anthony on the executive committee. A division of sentiment caused the formation of the American Woman Suffrage Association headed by Henry Ward Beecher, in the same year. Both societies held yearly meetings until their union as the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890 with Mrs. Stanton as president. Her advancing age caused her resigning the chair to Miss Anthony in 1892. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt relieved the aged Miss Anthony of active

duties in 1900, ^{and} she was succeeded four years later by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw who remained in office till 1915 when Mrs. Catt once more assumed control.

The work of the National American Association was conducted from Susan B. Anthony's home until 1895 when headquarters were opened in the Philadelphia residence of an active member. Since 1909 the association has had official headquarters in New York City. Three years later a congressional committee of the national association opened an office in Washington D. C. to begin active campaigning for the federal amendment that has always been the objective of the society. A weekly magazine, The Woman Citizen was begun in 1917, taking over the Woman's Journal of 1870. Since 1914 a publishing company has been a part of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and has turned out 60,000,000 pieces of propagandist literature. This national society is a federation of state organizations and is thoroughly efficient and business-like in its procedure.

But until the congressional passage of the suffrage amendment in 1919 its labors were availing only insofar as they aided state legislation for women. In spite of the fact that the nation franchised its negroes and will soon be equally kind to its women, suffrage is theoretically under ^{state} control. In 1916 both Republicans and Democrats indorsed woman suffrage--for state action, another version of "let George do it!" As in most other matters, some states exceed the nation in progress, others lag behind it. In

the women's rights question the state division is chiefly sectional: the west is democratic; the north east conservative but active; the south, still asleep to its own needs.

In all sections women are fighting for and against their own cause. The anti-suffrage societies are composed of women treated so well that they care nothing for the theoretical slavery of their position; of women too lazy to desire independence, and of keen eager thinkers with a desire for notoriety which is stronger than their judgment. There are also a few in these societies who have felt that woman's fight was a losing one and they therefore wished to continue on the safe side.

In the consideration of state progress in the political life of women, the Kentucky school franchise of 1838 deserves first place. Kansas followed in 1861 with a more liberal educational measure. Then comes the famous Wyoming bill of 1869. Anti-suffragists delight in the early history of Wyoming's ballot for women. Mrs. Esther Morris appealed to the president of the territorial council for a bill enfranchising women. The democratic council chuckled; here was a chance to take vengeance on the Republican governor by passing a measure that he would surely veto whereupon they could howl because of his conservatism. But the governor did not veto the measure and America thru this impulsive legislation saw the first universal adult suffrage in the world granted in one of her so-called wild western territories. Two years later the Wyoming legislature tried to repeal woman suffrage

but the governor used his veto this time and the reactive measure could not pass his negation. When the state constitution was written in 1889 the convention unanimously put into the first section "equal political rights for all male and female citizens. "Congress fought three days over that clause and finally wired Wyoming that it must be eliminated before the state could be admitted. The legislature, which happened to be in session, wired in return, "We will remain out of the union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." Somehow the anti-suffragists never continue Wyoming's story to this message. About 90 per cent. of the eligible women voters of that state cast their ballots annually. The pioneer suffrage territory is not sorry for its first liberal and unintentional franchise. Whenever another state is debating the removal of the blot on its suffrage escutcheon the Wyoming legislature passes resolutions concerning woman's power for good within its domain and sends them to its hesitating sister commonwealth.

Colorado and Utah share honors in following the lead of Wyoming. Utah territory granted suffrage to its women in 1870, but congress, fearing for the welfare of these women under the Mormon regime, saw fit to protect them by taking away their political rights. The state constitution of 1895 included a universal adult suffrage provision. Women have used their power wisely but not so widely in Utah as in some other western states. This is especially true in the field of education where men still

monopolize the positions of trust in spite of the fact that women form the vast majority in the teaching corps. In Idaho and Colorado, on the other hand, state and district superintendencies are often held by women. Utah has had female legislators in both houses of her law making body and in some local and county offices. The civil code of the state is humane; women have full property rights and are joint guardians with their husbands over their children. The constitution provides equal pay to men and women for similar services; but the women themselves have not demanded the enforcement of the statute. In 1920 certain school districts offer \$100 more annually to men teachers and such a criminal wage scale goes unchallenged.

Colorado granted school suffrage in 1876 but refused to grant general franchise until 1893. One senator, more than twenty representatives, scores of city and county officials and all State Superintendents of Public Instruction have been women. This state is most often cited as the example of what can be accomplished by woman suffrage. Its procedure is similar to that of the other western commonwealths. The state federation of women's clubs discusses what it wishes done in the shape of legislation and appoints a committee to attend each session of the legislature. When action seems going in the wrong direction women in all parts of the state are notified and telegrams rain on the recalcitrant law makers. If the proper legislation is introduced all goes well and congratulatory messages arrive. Such methods show that women are themselves in the state of

evolution in which they hang on to influence and forget rights. Much effective legislation results, however, in such a state as Colorado in which the ladies can back their reprimanding telegrams with a refusal to return certain men to the legislature at the next election. Some of the enlightened statutes in which women have taken active part are: an eight-hour law for working women; a mother's compensation act; joint guardianship of children; factory inspection law; child labor law; and fuller compulsory-education laws than are found in most states.

Idaho became democratic in the same year in which Utah placed universal suffrage in her constitution. The anti-suffragists became alarmed at the sudden western tendency toward liberalism and with the aid of liquor interests kept women down in all other states until 1910 when Washington joined the free ranks. Her history is a blot on the federal government. In 1883 the territorial legislature had passed woman suffrage which was strengthened in 1886 when a question of constitutionality arose. The next year the vicious liquor interests obtained control to the extent that a certain saloon keeper's wife was refused the vote in order to rush the case to ~~the case to~~ the supreme court. Two out of three of the judges sitting on the case declared a territory had no right to extend suffrage. A more infamous decision has rarely been rendered in a United States Court. It is no wonder that with such a federal backing the men tyrannized over the other half of the population so that it took a long hard fight to get

back the ballot lost by the stupidity or cupidity of the United States supreme court.

The suffrage movement rapidly gained force in the twentieth century. At present (May, 1920) fifteen states have granted full suffrage, four have presidential and municipal franchise; and none have the presidential vote only. (See table at conclusion of thesis). These concessions have been won at enormous expense of time, money and labor. Californian women exerted themselves to the utmost in 1896 only to be betrayed by political leaders. All the corrupt corporations and vice interests were naturally afraid of woman suffrage and it became necessary to clean up the state before the enfranchisement of women could be secured. Alaska territory extended the ballot to its women in 1913 and the benefits of the measure are already apparent. New York's victory in 1917 was the most notable obtained by United States feminists prior to the congressional passage of the federal suffrage amendment. 3,000 women worked without pay from 1915 till 1917 to secure their political privileges in that state. For sixty-five years lecturers had been touring the state in the cause of women. In 1918 Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota went thru the same expensive process. Women have worked harder for their political rights than any class of men in America have ever worked for anything.

The only method of shortening and making less expensive this grand struggle is to secure a federal suffrage enactment for women. The earliest leaders of the American

woman's movement were far sighted enough to see the enormous useless expense of state suffrage enactments. But although congress had removed the political disabilities of negroes in one sweep it was thankful for the old peg of state suffrage on which to hang its hat when the question of justice to women came up. In 1916 both great American political machines thought it expedient to grant some concessions in order to gain the votes of the women already franchised; therefore both indorced the principle of political equality of sexes but shirked all responsibility by once more solemnly leaving it to the states to be settled.

The federal woman suffrage amendment, which has always been the direct objective of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of its predecessor the National Woman Suffrage Association was first introduced into the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent. Fifty years later to a day it passed the House of Representatives. A half century of struggle for a right which if not inherent in humanity is certainly inherent in democracy!

The text of the amendment which has received the approbation of thirty five of the requisite thirty six states follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein),

"That the following article be proposed to the

Legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article.

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The history of this amendment is the story of a series of failures becoming less and less until a balance of votes resulted, when the success of the measure became more and more assured by an equally deliberate process. The Committee of the senate reported it twelve times between 1878 and 1917, eight times favorably. The House reported it ten times during the same period. It was finally adopted by the House Jan. 10, 1918 with a vote of 274 yeas, 136 nays. After voting on the measure five times, with only one vote lacking in the necessary two thirds majority in February 1919, it finally passed the Senate on June 4, 1919, having passed the House a second time on May 21 of that spring. Theree states ratified it within a week. Nine ratified it before July. Twenty five states have called special sessions for the purpose of ratification. (See tables at close of thesis) It is hoped that one more state will ratify very soon in order that the women of the United States may take part in the presidential election of this year (1920). However, there are many state

constitutions which must be revised before women under their jurisdiction can use the ballot; which condition means that all American women cannot vote in 1920 even if the amendment becomes part of the federal constitution. More than seventeen million United States women have the presidential suffrage in twenty eight states (see tables at close of thesis), however, and will be able to express some of the power which is due their sex.

Thus at present the United States as a whole has the unenvied position of being the only one of the fair haired nations that has refused its women political rights. Even the Latin countries may push in ahead of her if much more procrastination is resorted to. Any American must blush with shame at the record of his nation's attitude toward woman's political freedom. On the other hand, much has been accomplished toward the civil equality of the sexes; but this has been a state matter also and the nation deserves little credit for the reforms which have come chiefly in those states that had already accepted woman suffrage. Eleven of the fifteen woman's suffrage states have joint guardianship of children; twenty-three male suffrage states keep guardianship in the hands of the father. Thirteen of the fifteen full suffrage states have eight or nine hour laws for women. Twenty three of the other states are without such legislation. All of the states having Industrial Welfare Commissions to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children have also some female suffrage. In nine American states the husband can still control his wife's

earnings; five of these are in the South which as a whole is more on a par with Mexico and South America in its legal concessions to women than with the enlightened Anglo-Saxon peoples of the remainder of the earth. In general it must be said that although woman's legal status is higher in the suffrage states it is no where what it should be. There is, for example, not one state in the union that enforces an equal-pay-for-equal-work enactment. The time has not yet come in any American state that woman can turn from her own status, feeling that it has reached the proper level of justice, to consider the questions of legislation which deal primarily with humanity rather than with her sex. The fight for freedom has over-sexed women; they have had to fight so strenuously for self preservation that they have had no energy to devote to the big international political questions of the day. Their great work in the field of government will come when they have gained the level where they may fight for humanity with all the intelligent zeal with which they have battled for themselves.

I know of no more progressive political measure outside of legal enactments than the formation of the American League of Women Voters which stated officially in February 1920:

"Whereas, ~~1~~ millions of women will become voters in 1920, and

Whereas, the law standards of citizenship found in the present electorate clearly indicate the need of education in the principles and ideals of our government and the methods of political procedure; therefore be it

Resolved: That the National League of Women

Voters be urged to make Political Education for the new women voters, (but not excluding men) its first duty in 1920.

Its plan of work includes a board of ten national directors and a national manager with state directors and a representative council as numerous as the national congress of the United States. Active publicity measures shall be undertaken to educate the citizens up to their political duties. No other class of enfranchised individuals has ever thus made determined, systematic efforts to acquire knowledge of the proper use of the ballot. It will be no fault of the women if the United States does not soon recover all the prestige she has lost in being so dilatory in recognizing the principle of human equality which she has nominally favored since 1776.

Oriental peoples are beginning to feel the warmth of the feministic conflagration in Europe and America. In Persia and Japan petitions for political privileges for women have been presented to the governing bodies. But woman's suffrage in the East would be as great a mistake as the universal franchise of male negroes after the American Civil War. When polygamy, veils, crippled feet, exposure of girl babies, child marriage and a few other atrocities have been abolished it will be time to talk of suffrage. Education must come first; all true progress follows in its footsteps. Yet in spite of the greater distance which Oriental women must travel to obtain freedom and justice they are

showing a disposition to begin the long, long journey upward. The World War has so disturbed the stupid tranquillity of every nation on the earth's surface that there are hopes and hints of a world-wide elevation of woman's legal status.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF WOMAN

It is probably beyond expectation that nations keeping their own women in tutelage should be more liberal in their regulations concerning those of other countries; hence it is not surprising to find that the few mentions of the female sex in international law make it the usual sub-human species with which the best of our governments is still familiar. When the occupants of ceded territory are allowed so many months in which to decide whether they will move or become citizens of the new proprietary nation, it is the men who decide. Wives are supposed to be without voice. In determining the domicile of origin the home of the mother at the time of her child's birth is considered only if the babe be illegitimate. The most unfair of all the usual provisions is that a woman loses her citizenship on marrying an alien while a man under similar circumstances retains his and, more unjustly still, naturalizes his wife by the mere act of marrying her. Inez Milholland Boissevain was a notable example of the woman persecuted under this law. Here was a brilliant young lawyer whose whole life was devoted to

raising the standard of American citizenship, a martyr to the cause of American women's rights, dying a Belgian because she had married a man of that nationality. The United States probably thinks itself merciful in allowing that American widows or divorcees can regain their citizenship rather easily; at least it is a step toward equality. It is similarly partial to allow men to naturalize their wives into the citizenry of their adopted country without the women themselves taking out naturalization papers. With nation-wide woman suffrage all but adopted in the United States adjustment will be made on this score. All governments will probably protect themselves by seeing that prospective voters file their own petitions for citizenship.

Although women are living under the same official international regulations that have shadowed them for decades; they themselves have sensed the decreasing isolation of all parts of the globe and have taken all possible steps to form a bond among the female citizenry of all nations. In 1868 the Women's International Association was created in Switzerland with the aim of elevating woman's status throughout all the civilized world. Ten years later women from France, the United States, Italy, Russia, Holland and Switzerland succeeding in calling a larger congress in Paris which so influenced the French people that the woman's cause in that nation took a forward leap. In 1888 American suffragists decided to call an international suffrage assembly in

New York to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the famous little Senecan convention which officially launched woman suffrage in America. \$12,000 were expended by Susan B. Anthony and her assistants in arranging the meeting. Nine nations sent representatives and the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance was formed. It has held sessions in most of the Germanic countries of Europe; the London conference of 1909 being attended by representatives of twenty-two nations.

The International Woman Suffrage News published in England is the official organ of this alliance. One of the tritest of the arguments against woman's suffrage has been that the female sex is given to magnifying petty things and failing to see big considerations. The early formation of an international society which has grown in strength and power scarcely bears up any accusation of narrow vision on the part of women.

CONCLUSIONS

The most notable fact made evident by even a brief review of woman's legal status up through the ages is that it has evolved naturally as other changes toward a more enlightened condition have gradually taken place. We speak of barbarities and atrocities in the legal attitude of nations toward their women but such terms are only relative and imply comparison of the past with the present or some future and more ideal state. When women were in slavery, men were serfs. It is not possible that one half of the race can far exceed the other in freedom or opportunity.

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free:
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?"

It requires little reasoning to determine the fact that the rise of men thru the industrial revolution was necessarily and inevitably followed by the rise of woman. If all the boys in a family receive education it is far more likely that the girls should demand it also than would be the case if only one or two out of an entire village were receiving training. It is strangely absurd that men should howl at the rise of women when they themselves have pulled them up, just as truly as it was they who first pushed them down.

The reason there are so many men opposed to woman suffrage and its subsequent racial elevation is that they have not awakened to the fact that the age of competition is being supplanted by the era of cooperation. It is no longer necessary for a man to marry a small wife in order to show off his superior size. The day of the pain economy theory is passing, it has been discovered that making allies of one's neighbors brings more happiness than exterminating them. The patriarch who subjugated the women of his family to the status of slaves and the men to the rank of respected servants must have been a lonely creature. Companionship is essential to rapid progress and companionship implies equality. Under the old regime of inequalities it was possible for each man to ape the tyranny of his lord in his own household; it may even have been essential to

his self-respect to have had a woman to beat daily. But with the disappearance of tyrannical governments it was absolutely inevitable that the home tyranny should likewise diminish. And having diminished to the point where the belabored woman had time to think; she straight way began to act. If men did not want woman suffrage they should never have put down czars and emperors.

The causes for the present variation, among the civilized nations, in the legal status of woman are chiefly biological and educational. In those nations in which romantic love and affairs of passion play a large part woman is over-sexed and in some cases sub-human. She cares more for adoration than respect; more for emotional pleasure than intellectual joy. This biological misfortune is so far exploited by men that the woman is herself convinced that her life is fullest when narrowest. "You make for her a world of dolls", says Wendell Phillips, "and then complain that she is frivolous."

Germanic women have ever been of a calm, patient, often phlegmatic temperament in comparison to their Latin sisters. They submitted from necessity to the bullying strength of their men and were bound in as humiliating a thralldom. But they never grew to love their bonds and when the institution of factories called them into industrial life they stolidly set to work to break into

the realm of humanity, a sadly degenerated humanity because single-sexed. And today we find all of the Germanic peoples, except the United States, enfranchised because of their inherent desire for fair play.

Education has played an even stronger part in the evolution of woman's status than has biological differentiation. There was no French Revolution until education had made the bourgeoisie powerful. There were no woman suffrage societies until girls schools had grown fairly numerous. Once more man was unwise; if he had really desired to continue single-sexed civilization to its logical conclusion, as the Germans so nearly succeeded in doing, he should never have opened school-house doors to women.

Nor should he have allowed her to work for wages even at the most menial of tasks. It is true that in Austria, Italy, and some of the United States a man still controls his wife's earnings but those territories have neighbors that have more just ideals to which rebellious women can escape. Therefore at present women can in most countries earn their own livelihood though unfair discriminations against them in the field of labor still exists. And no person who earns his or her own living can be treated as a slave; economic independence breeds self respect. When women were once allowed to leave the home and work for money, their emancipation, at some time, however remote, was assured.

Having reviewed the rise of woman from the slavery

imposed by church and state and the causes for the advancement, but one more factor in her progress deserves mention before we pass to the comparison of her present status with what it should be. The World War hastened woman's evolution by hundreds of years in some places, by decades in others. Notice have been made in various portions of this paper of the share taken by women in warfare and conflicts. The Finnish women, the Icelanders, and the Norwegians were enfranchised out of gratitude for their part in the obtaining of new and liberal constitutions. During the great world struggle women of all participating nations worked vigorously for victory. Lloyd George said: "The battle of the Somme could not have been won without the ammunition made by women." All the industries of the warring countries would have been imperilled but for the work of women. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight nations that have enfranchised their women have done so in recognition of services rendered by the women in the great World War. The French Revolution is held justifiable on the ground that it freed the common people (meaning men) from political bondage. The World War accomplished the same result for half of the earth's civilized inhabitants. There are 100,000,000 women voters in the world today.

Have they then reached the political and civil status for which they have labored? Only partially; the goal

is absolute sex equality in all legal matters. At present, political progress is out-distancing civil advancement. Many nations, among whom the United States will soon be included, are in the anomalous position of allowing individuals who are legally incapable of controlling their own earnings to vote. In some instances persons under perpetual tutelage, legal children, will exercise the franchise. Of course such conditions must be remedied. Absolute economic independence; a single standard of morals, joint guardianship of children; separate control of property; and equal pay for equal work are some of the principles that must be adopted before the evolution of woman will be complete. And they must be adopted not only by the statute books but by the people. Thus several of our states have endorsed the equal-pay-for-equal-service theory but none have put it into practice. It will take years of consciously planned activity on the part of women to educate the public to see the desirability of fair play. The suffrage is the beginning, not the end, of the struggle for justice to women. It is the tool with which women must fashion their future status.

In political life there can be no real equality until the election of women to office has become so common that the primary consideration in voting for an official will be capability and not sex. In fact sex should be taken out of politics and put back in the home where it belongs. And the only way to take it out

of public life is to make the election of women officials so common that it will no longer be necessary for every self-respecting female to vote for all the women on all the tickets to help toward even a partial representation of her sex. As long as the congresswoman is a seven day wonder whose clothes, and smiles and hobbies and tears are given press comment in preference to her brains or training, sex is being exploited in politics rather than removed from that corrupt realm. When Miss Rankin of Montana wept in the House of Representatives the nation of men were quick with the "I told you so." When Calhoun and Webster came to blows in congress no one commented. Had there been fifty women with Miss Rankin in congress, as there should have been, her individual inclination to pacifism and tears would have passed without public notice.

No one wants a feminine civilization, women least of all; but neither should we want a masculine type of culture. A world that has been under masculine domination for thousands of years needs to be made human. "None of the occupations which comprehend the ordering of a state belong to woman as woman nor yet to man as man, but natural gifts are to be found here and there in both sexes alike; and so far as her nature is concerned, the woman is admissable to all pursuits as well as the man." (Plato) The great mass of women with their superior sympathetic responses and the great mass of men with their superior powers of aggressive initiative will ever make up the voting class; but the rulers, or servants as one

pleases to call them, should be chosen by individuality, by ability in statescraft rather than by sex. And the one pursuit in which women excelled during their age of oppression was in governing. There have been no first rate female artists, poets or musicians but there have been first rate women rulers. It is to be expected that the future will see a goodly proportion of female governmental officials, so large a proportion in fact that their feminity will no longer be a matter of public interest.

When civilization has been humanized to the extent that sex has been removed from politics; that absolute equality for all can be obtained by legal appeal; and that educational and social legislation will be esteemed of greater importance than mere party enactments and selfish squabbles over territory; when femininity has so far counteracted the world-wide malady of masculinity that war is no longer possible; then and not till then will the political and social evolution of woman be complete.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

Women were granted full suffrage

in	in
Australia-----	1902
Austria-----	1918
British East Africa-----	1919
Canada-----	1918
Czecho-Slovakia-----	1918
Denmark-----	1915
England-----	1918
Finland-----	1906
Germany-----	1918
Holland-----	1919
Hungary-----	1918
Iceland-----	1913
Ireland-----	1918
Isle of Man-----	1881
Luxembourg-----	1919
New Zealand-----	1893
Norway-----	1907
Poland-----	1918
Rhodesia-----	1919
Roumania-----	1919
Russia-----	1917
Scotland-----	1918
Serbia-----	1919
Sweden-----	1919
Union of South Africa-----	1919
Uruguay-----	1919
Wales-----	1918

A very limited suffrage is also
granted in Belgium----- 1919

IN THE UNITED STATES

women were granted full suffrage

in	in
Wyoming-----	1869
Colorado-----	1893
Utah-----	1895
Idaho-----	1896
Washington-----	1910
California-----	1911
Arizona-----	1912
Kansas-----	1912
Oregon-----	1912

in	in
Montana-----	1914
Nevada-----	1914
New York-----	1917
Oklahoma-----	1918
Michigan-----	1918
South Dakota-----	1918
Alaska-----	1913

Women were granted presidential and municipal suffrage

in	in
Illinois-----	1913
North Dakota-----	1917
Nebraska-----	1917
* Vermont-----	1917
Tennessee-----	1919

* municipal only

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island-----	1917
Indiana-----	1919
Iowa-----	1919
Maine-----	1919
Minnesota-----	1919
Missouri-----	1919
Wisconsin-----	1919
Ohio-----	1919
Kentucky-----	1920

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas-----	1917
Texas-----	1918
Ohio-----	1919

RATIFICATIONS OF THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

R.-Regular Session

S.-Special Session

(36 ratifications necessary)

1919

1. Illinois-----R.-----June 10
2. Wisconsin-----R.-----June 10
3. Michigan-----S.-----June 10
4. Kansas-----S.-----June 16
5. Ohio-----R.-----June 16
6. New York-----S.-----June 16
7. Pennsylvania--R.-----June 24
8. Massachusetts-R.-----June 25
9. Texas-----R.-----June 28
10. Iowa-----S.-----July 2
11. Missouri-----S.-----July 3
12. Arkansas-----S.-----July 28
13. Montana-----S.-----July 30
14. Nebraska-----S.-----July 31
15. Minnesota-----S.-----Sept. 8
16. New Hampshire-S.-----Sept. 10
17. Utah-----S.-----Sept. 30
18. California-----S.-----Nov. 1
19. Maine-----S.-----Nov. 5
20. North Dakota--S.-----Dec. 1
21. South Dakota--S.-----Dec. 4
22. Colorado-----S.-----Dec. 12

1920

23. Rhode Island--R.---- Jan. 6
24. Kentucky-----R.-----Jan. 6
25. Oregon-----S.-----Jan. 12
26. Indiana-----S.-----Jan. 16
27. Wyoming-----S.-----Jan. 26
28. Nevada-----S.-----Feb. 7
29. New Jersey----R.----Feb. 10
30. Idaho-----S.-----Feb. 11
31. Arizona-----S.-----Feb. 12
32. New Mexico----S.-----Feb. 19
33. Oklahoma-----S.-----Feb. 28
34. West Virginia-S.-----Mch 10
35. Washington----S.-----Mch 22

Failed to ratify

- | | |
|------------|------------------|
| 1 Alabama | 4 Mississippi |
| 2 Georgia | 5 South Carolina |
| 3 Maryland | 6 Virginia |



3 1114 00720 4581



